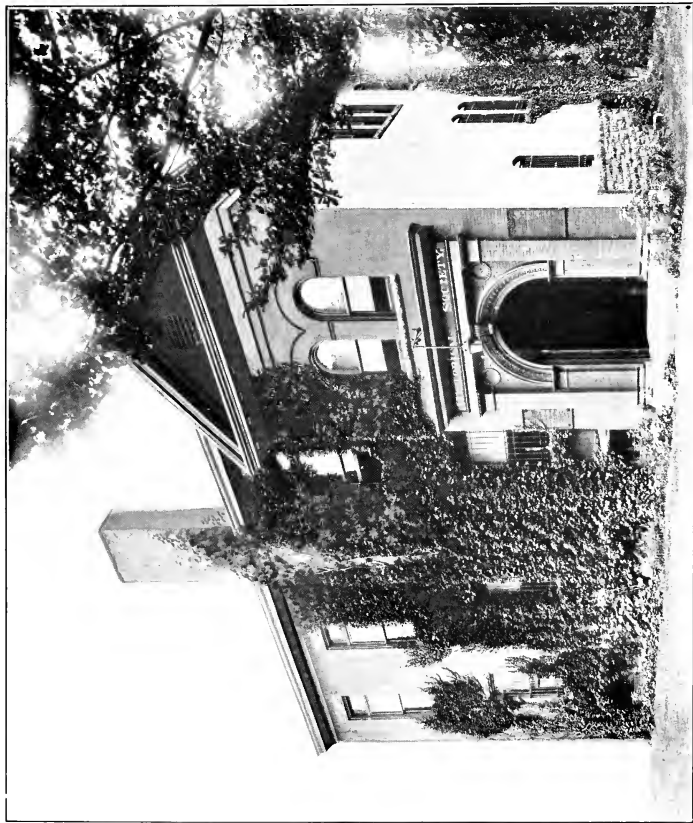


UNIVERSITY
OF PITTSBURGH



LIBRARY



HOME OF THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 1918
Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

PROCEEDINGS

AND

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY,

FOR THE YEAR 1918.

EDITED BY

CHRISTOPHER WREN,

Corresponding Secretary and Librarian.

VOLUME XVI.

WILKES-BARRÉ, PA.

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.

PRINTED BY THE E. B. YORDY CO.

Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

July, 1919.

PREFACE.

The year 1918 has been one of unusual disturbances ; our Country entered actively into the Great World War, and members of our Society did their full duty by enlistment in the army, by work on committees and by contributions to all Liberty Loans and other war funds. These things took the attention of our entire community—almost to the expulsion of other matters. Towards the end of the year we were visited by an epidemic of influenza, which was more widespread and fatal than any disease which our country had ever before experienced.

Under these circumstances all business and social matters were very much affected and thrown out of their normal balance.

Notwithstanding these disturbances, our society kept its doors open, except for a short period, and carried on its work as well as was possible.

During the year we held our four regular quarterly meetings, at each of which a paper was read, and they were attended by audiences with which we were much gratified because of their size and interest.

The papers which were read at these meetings are published in this volume, the issue of which has been somewhat delayed by the unusual conditions existing during the year.

Now that the Great War is over, we can look forward to getting back to the normal and we hope our society will continue to increase and grow in interest and usefulness, as seems probable from the increased number of visitors to our rooms which we notice.

CHRISTOPHER WREN,
MISS MYRA POLAND,
GEORGE FREDERICK CODDINGTON,
Publishing Committee.

June, 1919.

THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY,

WILKES-BARRE, PENNSYLVANIA.

Organized 1858.

Has a handsome and permanent home provided by the will of the late Isaac S. Osterhout, founder of the Osterhout Free Library.

A library of 20,000 books and pamphlets not duplicated in the Osterhout Free Library, including United States and Pennsylvania publications.

Collections of about 45,000 Archeological, Ethnological and Geological specimens displayed in its cases.

The rooms are open to the public daily, except Sunday, from 10:00 a. m. to 5:00 p. m.

The members receive all publications and privileges free.

The Society has published sixteen volumes, besides pamphlets.

The Geological Library has over 2,000 volumes, including State reports.

The Society desires to secure rare Indian relics, with a view to making as complete a showing of our region as possible, also geological specimens and local antiques.

Address,

Wyoming Historical and Geological Society,

Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

FORM OF A BEQUEST.

I give and bequeath to the "WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY" the sum of (*insert here the sum to be given*) for the use of said Society absolutely.

FORM OF A DEVISE.

I give and bequeath (*insert a description here of the real estate to be given*) unto the "WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY" its successors and assigns forever.

The Publications of the Society are for sale. Also copies of Pennsylvania Mine Inspector's Reports and The 2nd Geological Survey of Pennsylvania.

We also have a number of sets of Johnson's Historical Record of Wyoming Valley for sale.

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NOTE.

In this volume the following changes have been made from what has been the practice in former volumes:

- (1) In the Report of the Librarian a summary is given of the books and magazines which have been purchased or were received by exchange or gift since our last volume was issued.
- (2) The Report of the Curator of Archeology gives a list of the accessions to our Museum Department in the past two years.
- (3) After each name in the List of Membership the year is given in which membership in the Society commenced.
- (4) The Indexing is made by Name and Incident, instead of by Name only, as has been the practice heretofore.

In the absence of a complete catalogue of our Collections and the articles in our Museum cases, it is hoped that these changes will be of interest and make reference to the Society's possessions more convenient.

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REPORTS AND COLLECTIONS
OF THE
Wyoming Historical and Geological Society

Volume XVI.

WILKES-BARRE, PA.

1919

PROCEEDINGS.

April 12th, 1918.—This being the date selected to commemorate the sixtieth anniversary of the formation of our Society, the observance on the exact anniversary date in February having been deferred because of the war activities of our members and the entire community, the regular Quarterly meeting was held in the Society's rooms this evening.

The principal feature of the meeting was the reading, by George R. Bedford, Esq., one of our members, of the completion of his paper on "Some Early Recollections", a portion of which he had read at the meeting on November 16th, 1917.

The paper deals with the customs and conditions under which people lived in Wyoming Valley sixty or more years ago, and it is a valuable addition to the early history of the region which, at a later date, it would be almost impossible to secure in such a direct and complete manner.

At a regular Quarterly meeting on May 24th, 1918, Mr. Baird Halberstadt, F. G. S. A., read a paper before the Society under the title "Something About Coal", which fits into the Geological Department of our Society.

It will no doubt attract the attention of Geologists in particular, as it brings together much valuable information not to be found elsewhere in so condensed a form. There are features in it also which will interest all the members of our Society.

A regular Quarterly meeting of the Society was held on

February 14th, 1919, at which Oscar Jewel Harvey, A. M., a member of the Society, read the completion of his paper, entitled "Royalty in Wyoming Valley Nearly a Century and a Quarter Ago," of which he had read a portion on January 3, 1919.

The leading feature of the paper is an account of the visit of Louis Philippi and the Orleans Princes to America in 1797, their making a tour of the country as far west as Kentucky and spending several days in Wilkes-Barre and Wyoming Valley.

It gives also a concise account of the elevation of Louis Philippi to the throne of France and his subsequent history.

The paper relates interesting experiences of George Catlin, born in Wilkes-Barre, his living for a number of years among the American Indians, painting their portraits and ceremonial scenes and studying their habits and customs.

The visit of Catlin to Europe, taking with him a band of American Indians and their being received and entertained by Louis Philippi and other crowned heads of Europe.

The paper adds a valuable chapter to our local history and to our publications.

REPORTS.

Report of the Corresponding Secretary and Librarian for the Year ending February 14, 1919.

To The President and Members of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.:

In making my report as Librarian of the Society for the year ending February 14th, 1919, I would say that the attendance of students during the year has been about as numerous as in past years, notwithstanding the many disturbances by war and sickness which we have experienced. By actual count 502 students and 5,391 other visitors have been in our rooms during the year, making a total of 5,893 visitors.

We continue to make additions to our historical and genealogical collections and the following books have been added by purchase, exchange and gift, since volume XV was issued:

MISCELLANEOUS BOOKS PURCHASED.

Writings of Abraham Lincoln, 8 volumes. By A. B. Lapsley.

The Lloyd Manuscripts. By W. H. Lloyd.

American Year Book, 1917.

Notes on Old Gloucester County, N. J. By N. J. Society of Pa.

Civil War Memoirs of Schuylkill County, Pa. By F. B. Wallace.

Poems and Lyrics. By P. F. Durkan.

School History of Berks County, Pa. By M. L. Montgomery.

Origin, History and Genealogy of the Buck Family. By Samuel Buck.

History of Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. By T. K. Smith.

The Eastern District of Brooklyn, N. Y. By E. L. Armbruster.

Writings of James Monroe, 7 volumes. By S. M. Hamilton.

- Annals of Castle Creek, N. Y. By Julius W. Lilly.
English Ancestry of Reinold and Matthew Marvin. By W. T. R. Marvin.
Romance of Old Philadelphia. By John T. Faris.
Some Neglected History of North Carolina. By Wm. E. Fitch.
The Guardian of the Gate. By R. G. D. Laffan.
Memoirs of a Huguenot Family. By Ann Maury.
Autobiography of a Pennsylvanian. By S. W. Penny-
packer.
Early American Churches. By Aymar Embury.
The Birth of a Nation. By Roger A. Prior.
The Evolution of Prussia. By J. A. R. Marriott.
The German Secret Service, 1914-1918. By J. P. Jones,
et al.
Souvenirs of the Great War. Paintings. By J. F. Bon-
chor.
Life of John Wilkes. By Horace Blackly.
History of Lehigh County, Pa. 3 volumes. By Stoudt &
Roberts.
Indians of New England and Eastern Long Island. By
E. L. Armbruster.
Life of Andrew Jackson. By S. G. Heiskell.
Birth of Russian Democracy. Russian Information Bur-
eau.
War Map of Europe. Nelson Doubleday.
North Carolina History. By Chas. L. Rapes.
Life of Lincoln. By Ida M. Tarbell.
The Wisners in America (Genealogical). By F. G. Wisner.
The Strattons. 2 volumes. (Genealogical). By H. R.
Stratton.
The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. By Geo.
W. Graham.
Colonial Virginia. By Chandler & Thomas.
Unwritten History of Braddock's Field. By G. H. Lamb.
Colonial Families of the U. S. Volume 6. By G. N.
McKenzie.
Chronicles of Cape Fear River. By James Sprunt.
Roster of Rhode Island Soldiers and Sailors in French and
Indian Wars.
Story of Some French Refugees and Their Azylum. By
Mrs. L. W. Murray.

- The American Indian. By Clark Wissler.
History of North Brookfield, Mass. By J. H. Temple.
Record of Descendents of Geo. Denison, Stonington, Conn.
Baldwin & Swift.
Descendants of Elder John Strong, Northampton, Mass.
2 volumes. B. W. Dwight.
History of Town of Lexington, Mass. By Charles Hudson.
The Wadhams Genealogy. By W. W. Stevens.
History of the Starr Family. By Burgess P. Starr.
History of Town of Arlington, Mass. By Benjamin &
Cutter.
History of Orange County, N. Y. By E. M. Ruttenber.
Genealogies of First Settlers of Albany County, N. Y. By
J. Pearson.
History of Hyde Family of Norwich, Conn. 2 volumes.
By R. H. Walworth.
History of Medford, Mass. 2 Vols. By Charles Brooks.

MAGAZINES PURCHASED.

- American Anthropologist.
American Association of Museums.
American Historical Review.
American History, Journal of
Essex Institute, Records of
Genealogical Publications, Philadelphia, Pa.
Genealogical Magazine.
Genealogist, The (English)
Lebanon County Historical Society Magazine.
Lancaster County Historical Society Magazine.
Maryland Historical Magazine.
Massachusetts Magazine.
Mayflower Descendants.
Magazine of History, New York.
Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies.
Pennsylvania German Society Magazine.
Review of Reviews.
Tennessee Historical Magazine.
Topsfield Historical Collections, Mass.
Virginia Historical Magazine.
World's Work.
William and Mary Quarterly, Va.

BOOKS RECEIVED BY EXCHANGE.

- Wisconsin State Historical Society, 64th Annual Report.
New Hampshire Historical Society Proceedings, 1905-1912.
Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, 1915-16 and
1916-17.
Montana Historical Society Contributions, 1917.
Commodore Joshua Barney. By W. F. Adams.
Staples Wealtha. (Genealogy). W. F. Adams.
Life of Governor Wm. A. Buckingham, Connecticut. By
S. G. Buckingham.
Bucks County Historical Society, Volume 4 Collections.
1917.
Roster of N. J. Officers and Men in Civil War. 2 Volumes.
By Stryker.
Lexington, Battle of 1775. By F. W. Coburn.
Kimball, Family of Levi and Descendants. By L. & R.
Darbee.
Michigan Geological Survey, 2 Volumes. 1917.
Harvard University Catalogues, 1916-17 and '18.
Princeton University Catalogue, 1917-18.
Yale University Catalogue, 1917-18.
American Historical Association Annual Report, 1915.
Our Country. By James Cox.
Illinois State Historical Library Publications, 1917.
Ontario Bureau of Mines, Canada, 26th Annual Report.
1918.
Iowa Geological Survey, Annual Report, 1915.
Buffalo Historical Society, Volume 21 Publications.
D. A. R. Lineage Book. Volume 45.
University State of N. Y. 11th Annual Report.
Smithsonian Institution. 10 Miscellaneous Volumes.
Old Atlas 1828. Five Great Divisions of the Globe, J. A.
Boyd.
Georgia Geological Survey. 1918.
Michigan Historical Magazine, Volume 1.
Onondago Historical Association Annuals, 1916-17 and '18.
Louisiana Historical Quarterly, Volume 1.
Mississippi Valley Review, Volume 3, No. 1.
Louisiana Historical Bulletin, 1917.

GIFT BOOKS RECEIVED BY THE SOCIETY.

- Reminiscences of Geneva Tribunal, 1872. By F. W. Hackett. From Edwin Swift Balch.
- Early Man in America. From Edwin Swift Balch.
- Chronicles of Pennsylvania. By C. P. Keith. From Edwin Swift Balch.
- Elise Willing Balch, In Memorium. From Edwin Swift Balch.
- 14 Volumes National Encyclopedia. From Irving A. Stearns.
- Biographical Album of Prominent Pennsylvanians. From Irving A. Stearns.
- Hampton L. Carson's History of Celebration of One Hundredth Anniversary of Constitution. From Irving A. Stearns.
- Sheridan Muspratt's Chemistry, 2 Volumes. From Irving A. Stearns.
- Geo. Andre's Treatise on Coal Mining. From Irving A. Stearns.
- Journalism, New York Press Club. From Irving A. Stearns.
- American Mining Institute, 3 Volumes. From Irving A. Stearns.
- Roster of Membership of St. Andrew's Society, Philadelphia, from 1749. From Christopher Wren.
- Journal of Claude Blanchard 1780-83. From Thomas W. Balch.
- A World Court in Light of U. S. Supreme Court. From Thomas W. Balch.
- Flora McDonald College, N. C., Brochure of. From Rev. F. D. Viehe.
- W. P. Clark's Official List of Militia and National Guard of Pennsylvania. From I. A. Stearns.
- Photo. Reproduction of Autograph Album to Admiral George Dewey. From I. A. Stearns.
- Jenkins' Colonial and Federal History of Pennsylvania. 3 Volumes. From Frederick Hillman.
- Popular History of Utah. From J. L. Siddoway.
- History of Salt Lake City. From J. L. Siddoway.

Massachusetts Vital Statistics, 10 Volumes. From State of Massachusetts.

Saward's Coal Journal. From Hazard Manufacturing Co. Illinois in 1818. By S. J. Buck. From Illinois Centennial Committee.

Life of Zachariah Chandler, 1851-1875. From Michigan Historical Committee.

Tribunal of Arbitration, U. S. State Department. From Miss Jane A. Shoemaker.

Year Book 1918, The International Peace Society.

Newspaper Clippings (bound) from American and English Papers Covering the Assassination of Abraham Lincoln. From R. P. Robinson.

History of Grace Reformed Church, Northampton, Pa. From Rev. J. B. Stoudt.

Life and Times of Col. John Siegfried. From Rev. J. B. Stoudt.

A Half Century of Progress and Prosperity of the Miners Bank, Wilkes-Barre. From O. J. Harvey.

Respectfully submitted,

CHRISTOPHER WREN.

Librarian.

**Report of the Curator of Archeology for the Year ending
February 14, 1919.**

*To the Officers and Members of the Wyoming Historical
and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre. Pa.:*

As Curator of Archeology I would report the following articles added to our Museum and general Collections, all of which fit into the subjects in which our Society is interested:

MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES PRESENTED TO THE SOCIETY.

- 1 large revolving Book Case, by Messrs. Woodward, Darling & Morris.
- 1 Hand-painted Feather Fan, by Miss Margaret Helfrick.
- 1 Large Sea Shell, by Miss Shoemaker and Mrs. Norris.
- 1 Gold Headed Cane, presented to Geo. M. Hollenback by Henderson Gaylord.
- 1 Sword Cane of "Old Michael" the town constable; both given by Mr. John W. Hollenback.
- 1 Tortoise Shell Comb, 1 Daguerreotype of Sam'l Gardner,
- 1 Brass Candlestick, 1 Blue Decorated Plate
- 1 Brown Decorated Plate, 1 Brass Shawl Pin, all of the period of 1778, presented by Mrs. Mary Price Simpson.
- 1 Daguerreotype of Peter Grove, of Danville, Pa.
- 1 Daguerreotype of David and Sarah Davis, Danville, Pa.
- 1 Daguerreotype of Wm. Horner, Danville, Pa.
- 29 Ivory Figures from Eskimo's of Labrador, Dr. J. G. Sperling.
- 1 Rosewood Flute used by French Soldier in Campaign, to Russia, 1813. Dr. Sperling.
- 1 Native Leather Water Bottle, Panama. Mrs. D. O. McCollum.
- 1 Welsh Bible printed in 1752. Benj. W. Jones.
- Copies of Leslie's Illustrated paper, 1865. Philadelphia Inquirer, 1865, describing assassination of President Lincoln; also Carbon County papers printed in 1845. By Erskine L. Solomon.
- A number of Colored Western Views, by O. C. Hillard.

INDIAN RELICS. (bought).

73 Rare Specimens from Chas. M. Johnston, Danville, Pa. including 3 Soapstone Bowls, 30 Stone and Clay Pipes, 7 Stone Daggers, 10 Stone Ceremonial Stones, Gorgets, Butterfly Pieces, Tally Stone, etc., 3 Large Crude Stone Axes and 5 Slate Knives, collected within the past thirty years in the Susquehanna Valley between Rupert and Northumberland, Pa.

1500 rare and good specimens, bought from the collection of Charles Steigerwalt of Lancaster county, Pa., and largely from Susquehannock Indian village and camp sites, including, 19 Grooved Stone Axes, 1 Pipe from Peale Museum, Philadelphia, Pa., 1 unfinished Pipe, 13 Celts, 3 Butterfly Ceremonials, 200 milk white (quartz) Arrow Points, 40 large Points 4" to 8" long, 500 tubular and round Glass Beads ("French trader").

500 ordinary Arrow and Spear Points and Knives.

Capt. John Smith in his history (1609) records that he visited the Susquehannock Indians up a large river and described them as an unusually large and fine looking people.

Respectfully submitted,

CHRISTOPHER WREN,
Curator of Archealogy.

TREASURER'S REPORT

Of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society,
Year Ending December 31st, 1918.

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand January 1, 1918—Check Account ..	\$344.05	
Savings “ ..	157.65	
	<u> </u>	\$ 501.70
Membership Dues		936.25
Life Membership		100.00
Income from Investments		4,503.83
Investment Account, Investments Paid, etc.		408.75
Luzerne County Appropriation		200.00
		<u> </u>
Total Receipts		\$ 6,650.53

EXPENDITURES.

Salary Account	\$ 3,000.50
Incidental Account	192.00
Telephone	42.55
Insurance	16.00
Interest on Special Funds	1,024.50
Book Account	100.00
Printing Account	82.05
Sundry Expense	9.50
Historiographer (O. J. Harvey)	25.00
Balance—Check Account	\$1,402.03
Savings “	666.40
	<u> </u>
	2,068.43
	<u> </u>
	\$ 6,650.53

Respectfully submitted,

C. W. LAYCOCK,
Treasurer.

SECURITIES IN HANDS OF TREASURER, DEC. 31st, 1918.

BONDS.

	Par.
Pacific Gas & Electric Co. 6's.....	\$ 500.00
Scranton Gas & Water Company 5's	5,000.00
Wilkes-Barre Company 5's	1,500.00
Muncie & Union City Traction 5's.....	1,000.00
United Gas & Electric Co. 5's.....	1,000.00
New England Power Company 5's	5,000.00
City of Philadelphia Loan 4's	2,000.00
Columbia & Montour 5's	1,000.00
Lackawanna & Wyoming Valley Traction 5's.....	1,000.00
Webster Coal & Coke Company 5's.....	4,000.00
Canton & Akron Rwy. 5's	1,000.00
Minneapolis Gas Light Co. 5's.....	1,000.00
Columbus, Newark & Zanesville 5's	3,000.00
Chesapeake & Ohio Rwy. 4½'s	4,000.00
Spring Brook Water Supply Co. 5's	11,000.00
Plymouth Bridge Co. 5's	6,000.00
The Raeder Blankbook, Lithographing & Printing Co. 5's	8,000.00
Eastern Wisconsin Railway & Light Co. 5's.....	1,000.00
Sheldon Axle Co. 5's	2,000.00
Indianapolis, Newcastle & Eastern Traction 6's.....	1,000.00
Consolidated Telephone Co. 1st Mtg. 5's.....	1,000.00

STOCK.

Twenty (20) shares stock Hazard Mfg. Co.....	1,000.00
Six (6) shares American Telephone & Telegraph 8%.....	600.00
	<hr/>
	\$62,600.00
11 Mortgages, 6%	\$17,700.00
1 Mortgage, 5½%	2,500.00
	<hr/>
	20,200.00
Total Investments at Par Value	<hr/>
	\$82,800.00

C. W. LAYCOCK,

Treasurer.

During the year \$1,000 People's Telephone Co. 5% bond was exchanged for \$1,000 Consolidated Telephone Co. 1st Mtg. 5% bond, and \$1,000 Frontier Telephone Co. bond was exchanged for 6 shares American Telephone & Telegraph Company stock.

On January 22nd, 1919, James Cool paid a \$3,000.00 mortgage on his property on Welles street, Forty Fort, which money is placed in the Savings Account.

GENERAL FUNDS, DECEMBER 31, 1918.

1. George Slocum Bennett Fund.....	\$ 1,000.00
2. Hon. Charles Dorrance Foster Fund.....	1,000.00
3. Colonel Matthias Hollenback Fund.....	4,000.00
4. Dr. Charles F. Ingham Fund (minimum \$1,000).....	500.00
5. Rev. Jacob Johnson Fund.....	1,000.00
6. Dr. Frederick Charles Johnson Fund (minimum \$1,000).....	500.00
7. Fred Morgan Kirby Fund.....	1,000.00
8. Hon. Charles Miner (Historian) Fund.....	1,000.00
9. Sidney Roby Miner Fund.....	2,000.00
10. Abram Nesbitt Fund.....	11,000.00
11. James Nesbitt, Jr., Fund.....	4,000.00
12. Mary S. Nesbitt Fund.....	4,000.00
13. Mrs. Sarah Myers (Goodwin) Nesbitt Fund.....	2,000.00
14. Captain L. Denison Stearns Fund.....	1,000.00
15. Dr. Lewis H. Taylor Fund.....	1,000.00
16. Edward Welles Fund	1,000.00
17. Life Membership Fund.....	22,700.00
18. General Fund	4,300.00
	<hr/>
	\$63,000.00

SPECIAL FUNDS.

- | | |
|--|-------------|
| 1. The Zebulon Butler Fund | \$ 1,000.00 |
| Given by descendants of Colonel Zebulon Butler for
Ethnological purposes. | |
| 2. The Coxe Family Fund..... | 10,000.00 |
| For Publication. | |
| 3. The Rev. Horace E. Hayden Fund..... | 1,500.00 |
| For Geological Lectures. | |
| 4. The Andrew Hunlock Binding Fund | 1,000.00 |
| 5. The Ralph D. Lacoe Fund | 1,000.00 |
| For Geology. | |
| 6. The Augustus C. Laning Fund..... | 1,000.00 |
| For Lectures; given by Mrs. George Cotton Smith in
memory of her father, who was a Vice President
of the Society. | |
| 7. The Charles A. Miner Fund..... | 1,000.00 |
| Given by his family for Geological purposes. | |
| 8. The Sheldon Reynolds Fund..... | 1,000.00 |
| Given by the family of Sheldon Reynolds, Esq.,
President, 1895, for a Memorial Library of Amer-
ican History. | |
| 9. The Hon. Stanley Woodward Fund..... | 1,000.00 |
| Created by his sons in honor of his having been a
founder and President of the Society. | |
| 10. The Harrison Wright Fund..... | 1,000.00 |
| A gift from his relatives in honor of his loyal attach-
ment to the Society, to create a Memorial Library
of English Heraldry. | |
| 11. The Joseph Swift Balch (1860-1864) Fund..... | 2,000.00 |
| Created by his brother, Edwin Swift Balch, for the
purchase of books (not Genealogical). | |

The above Funds are all to be kept intact, the interest only being available in carrying out the purposes for which they were created.

As our Society becomes more widely known and its exchanges with other similar Societies, for their publications in *pamphlet form*, become more numerous, it is very desirable that a larger binding fund be created so that these works may be suitable for placing on our shelves and better fitted for being used and handled.

SOME EARLY RECOLLECTIONS.

BY MR. GEORGE R. BEDFORD.

READ BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
NOVEMBER 16, 1917.

During my summer vacation days this year at Bear Creek I employed some of my leisure hours in reviving my recollection of other and earlier days, and was led to make note of some facts connected with my rather uneventful life, and to recount briefly my recollection of certain local conditions, people and events, intermingled with bits of local history.

Certain of my ancestors on both sides of the house were settled in Wyoming Valley at the time of the battle and massacre, July 3, 1778. One of them lost his life in the battle, and his bones, mingled with others, lie under the Wyoming Monument. My grandparents, on my father's side, came to the valley from the State of New York, and on my mother's side from the State of Connecticut.

My grandmother Bedford, then a child between five and six years of age, was with her parents in the Forty Fort and was taken captive when the fort was surrendered to Major John Butler, who was in command of the invading Indian and Tory forces. She lived to the age of ninety-six years and I often talked over with her the experiences and hardships of those early days.

The faces of all captives, as prisoners of war, were marked with paint by the Indians. This afforded them some protection as against other Indians, and they did not venture to wash their faces until out of the reach of danger.

Major John Butler was, I understand, a native of Connecticut, and I have heard it stated that he was in some degree a cousin of Colonel Zebulon Butler, who, on that fatal 3d July, 1778, was in command of the patriot forces. However this may be, I think it lacks proof.

Although the conduct of Major John Butler is not to be

condoned, I am persuaded that he was not the monster he has been painted. Immediately after the battle word went to Philadelphia and thence to England that when he was asked for terms of capitulation of the Forty Fort he replied, "The Hatchet," and it was declared that the threat was to a considerable extent carried out. This report, when it reached England, aroused great indignation against the Government and resulted in a large measure of openly expressed sympathy for the Colonies, and worked to their manifest advantage. Later this report of the terms of surrender offered by Major Butler was disproved, but the truth was suppressed because it was feared that if the English people learned that the report had been grossly exaggerated there would be a revulsion of public feeling.

The fact is that, following the battle and before the surrender of the fort, Major Butler manifested anxiety for the safety of the inmates and was at pains to send word to the fort to destroy all liquor, that otherwise he would be unable to control the Indians. This advice was heeded and Major Butler afforded the inmates such protection that not one of them was harmed, though many outside the fort were slain. The untrue report was incorporated in some of the histories of the Revolutionary War, and is, to some extent, perhaps to a considerable extent, believed at the present day.

Major Butler advised our family and others of their neighbors to leave the Fort as quietly as possible and make their escape. Under cover of darkness they found their way to the river shore, where a boat was in readiness. They went on board and floated down stream with the current, aided by a pair of oars, and the next night reached the Nescopeck Rapids, where on the river's bank there was a cabin. Some of the members of the party proposed that they should land and occupy the cabin over night. Others, more cautious, advised continuing the journey in the boat, and fortunately their advice prevailed. A boat following

with its occupants landed, the boat was moored and the party availed themselves of the cabin's shelter, but, sad to say, every one of them was massacred by the Indians the same night. My grandmother's family and friends, continuing their journey, finally reached the safe haven of Sunbury. They carried with them a few personal belongings, including the much treasured family Bible containing the family record. In the course of their journey the Bible got wet and they piously dried it leaf by leaf in the sun. I now have the Bible, which is more than one hundred and fifty years old.

I.

Both my parents were natives of Wyoming Valley. My father was Andrew Bedford, who was born in April, in the year 1800, in that portion of Kingston township now embraced in the borough of Wyoming, and died in his ninetyeth year. My mother was the eldest daughter of Benjamin Reynolds and was born at Plymouth in 1806 and died in August, 1845. In 1824 my father was graduated as a doctor of medicine from the medical department of Yale College and settled as a practicing physician in that part of Abington township, Luzerne county, now embraced in the borough of Waverly, Lackawanna county, some ten miles north of the present city of Scranton.

The Abington country was largely a wilderness and was sparsely settled. At that early day doctors were few and far between and my father's practice covered a territory extending from Montrose, in Susquehanna county, to some three miles below the present city of Scranton, a region in which hundreds of doctors are now engaged in the active practice of their profession.

Roads were so poor that my father in his rounds to visit patients traveled altogether on horseback, and he has told me that it not unfrequently happened that for three days and nights together the only sleep he got was on horseback, and that sometimes, awakened by the horse being under a

dead run, he would find himself firmly braced in the stirrups. This experience entailed great hardship, as a result of which he broke down in health after a number of years of active practice of his profession and was forced to seek other occupation. With George W. Woodward, William Swetland and E. W. Sturdevant he represented Luzerne county in the convention of 1837-8 that formed the Constitution of the State.

Many men of great eminence at the bar and in public life were members of this convention. Among such members were John Sergeant, Daniel Agnew, Thomas S. Bell, Walter Forward, William M. Meredith, Charles Chauncey, James M. Porter, Charles J. Ingersoll, Thaddeus Stevens and Joseph Hopkinson. These men were all great lawyers. Some of them served in judicial office and others as cabinet officers. Matthew W. Baldwin, the founder of the Baldwin Locomotive Works, and Joseph R. Chandler, the distinguished Philadelphia editor, were also members.

My parents, after marriage, continued to reside in Abington, where I was born 22d November, 1840, the youngest but one of seven sons, of whom I am the sole survivor.

In my early boyhood days I spent several successive years and thereafter a considerable portion of every summer with my Reynolds grandparents in Plymouth. I attended school for a while in the old Academy, which was a two-story building having two school rooms on the first floor and one room on the second floor used for church purposes, the only place at that time in all Plymouth where church services were conducted.

The commodious Reynolds homestead was located on rising ground about one-half mile from the Susquehanna River and immediately back of the present location of the Nottingham breaker. It had a commanding view of the lower part of the valley, extending up as far as Wilkes-Barre. There was at the time no evidence in sight of coal mining. At several places on the main street there were

small clusters of houses, but all else was highly cultivated farm land, extending from well up on the slope of the mountain to the river's shore. Taking it all in all, there was no more beautiful part of the Wyoming Valley. In the twilight of the summer evenings we were wont to sit at the front of the old home and hear the pleasant and oft recurring sound of the boatman's horn miles away, wafted across the river and giving signal to the keeper of the outlet lock to make ready for the passage of boats in and out of the canal.

Alas, all is changed! Towering coal breakers and huge culm banks are marked features of the landscape. The canal and its locks, its boats and its boatmen, together with the boatman's horn, have long since passed away.

Plymouth is historic ground and was intimately associated with many of the events that preceded and followed the Wyoming Massacre. A prominent actor in these events and a character of great originality was Col. George P. Ransom, who was yet living at his home in Plymouth when I was a member of my grandfather's family, and who died in 1850 at the advanced age of nearly ninety years. His military funeral and the oft repeated story of his checkered career made a deep impression on my boyhood mind. He served with credit in the Revolutionary War and displayed valor at Germantown and Brandywine and elsewhere while serving with his father's company in Washington's army. He accompanied General Sullivan in his expedition against the Indians in the year following the Wyoming Massacre. After meritorious service and after his enlistment expired he was honorably discharged from the army and returned to Plymouth. Soon afterwards, one cold December evening in 1780, Ransom, arrayed in his cocked hat and blue coat with buff lapels and gilt buttons, went up to the house of Benjamin Harvey, in the upper part of the village, "a sparking", to use his own words, and while comfortably seated in front of the blazing wood fire with Mr. Harvey,

his son, his daughter and her girl friend, an ominous tap was heard on the door. Presently the door opened and a marauding band of six Indians entered and made prisoners of the whole party, including Mr. Harvey, his son and the two young women as well. They all took up the march at once for Canada, the objective point of Indians having prisoners of war. When they reached the top of the Shawnee Mountain the Indians released the two young women, after painting their faces in true Indian style, and the two in the darkness made their way to the fort at Wilkes-Barre and gave the alarm, but too late to effect the rescue of Ransom and his companions. The latter, except the elder Harvey, who had been released en route, were taken to Canada and held prisoners for some six months, when they effected their escape.

As related by Colonel Wright, in his "Historical Sketches of Plymouth", Colonel Ransom late in life was in the Arndt tavern at Wilkes-Barre and heard a young man speak very disrespectfully and disparagingly of Washington. He declared that Washington was neither a great man nor a great soldier, but had taken advantage of fortunate circumstances to palm himself off upon the world as such. This was more than the old soldier could bear, and raising his cane he felled the impudent young sprig to the floor. The latter prosecuted the Colonel for assault and battery. When the cause came on before the Court Col. Ransom appeared without advocate, pleaded guilty, stated the circumstances and submitted himself to the Court. Hon. David Scott was presiding judge, his associates being the venerable Matthias Hollenback and Jesse Fell. Judge Scott remarked: "This is a case which I choose to leave to my associates, as they are old soldiers and can fully appreciate the circumstances", and then he left his seat on the bench. Judge Hollenback asked Colonel Ramson where he was at such a date. The answer was: "In my father's company in Washington's army." "And where on the 3rd of July, 1778?" "With

Captain Spalding on my way to Wyoming." "And where the following summer?" "With General Sullivan in the lake country flogging the Indians." "And where the next fall and winter?" "A prisoner on the St. Lawrence." "Ah!" said Judge Hollenback, "all that is true enough, Colonel Ransom, and did you knock the fellow down?" "I did so and would do it again under like provocation." "What was the provocation?" asked the judge. "The rascal abused the name of General Washington." The judge replied: "Colonel Ransom, the judgment of the Court is that you pay a fine of one cent and that the prosecutor pay the costs." This sentence was followed by an outburst of applause. It can still be read on the old pages of Quarter Sessions Docket No. 1, in the archives of the Luzerne county court house.

II.

Many summer days in my boyhood were spent with relatives in Kingston, a village then having a population of not exceeding five hundred. Before the coming of the railroad, about 1856, there were no streets and no buildings beyond the Seminary buildings located on what was then called Back street, now College avenue.

Though small in numbers and extent Kingston was even then well known over a large part of the United States because of its far-famed institution of learning—the Wyoming Seminary, which, under the Rev. Dr. Reuben Nelson, early took high rank among the educational institutions of the country and which for more than seventy years has been teaching the young of both sexes at the rate of four to five hundred each year. To this institution, now and for many years under the able presidency of the Rev. Dr. Sprague, thousands of men and women of the present day are indebted for a liberal education. When I was young, and an annual visitor at Kingston, the principal event in the life of the old village was the closing exercises of the

school year in June—what in these latter days is “Commencement” but formerly called “Seminary week”.

Seminary week was practically a holiday and was the occasion for the entertainment of many visitors by the residents of the village. The leading feature of Seminary week and one looked forward to by the student body and their friends was the “exhibition” on the closing day. The exhibition consisted of original declamations and original plays, which latter, in deference to a certain prejudice against things that savored of the theater, were called colloquies, written and acted by the students. These were listened to with interest and becoming pride on the part of the students themselves, their families and friends. An address by some distinguished man marked the close of the week’s exercises. The first exhibition that I remember was in a nearby orchard in the shade of the apple trees. Afterwards a tent of large capacity was provided for the purpose, and was in use until June, 1863, when the last old-time exhibition was given.

Kingston’s playground and picnic ground and a place of almost daily resort on the part of the young people in warm weather was Toby’s Eddy, a very beautiful peninsula of considerable extent at the junction of Toby’s Creek and the river, a little south of the present Woodward colliery. Beautiful greensward, many splendid stately trees and a fine bathing beach combined to make an ideal spot for the pleasure and entertainment of all who sought its sylvan shades.

It was here that Count Zinzendorf, an Austrian nobleman, but a follower of John Huss and associated with the Moravian Brethren at Bethlehem, pitched his tent some years before the coming of the Connecticut settlers. Touched by the accounts he had received of their moral degradation, he came to preach salvation to the Indians, but they were suspicious and unwilling to believe that the Count was sincerely interested in their welfare. They determined to

kill him and appointed two of their number for the purpose. These two stealthily approached the tent and cautiously drew aside a blanket guard that formed the tent's door. They had full view of their intended victim, who was alone and apparently in devout meditation. At the moment when the savages looked into the tent a rattlesnake glided harmlessly across the legs of the Count, who saw neither the serpent nor the murderous savages. The latter regarded him as under the special protection of the Great Spirit, and returning to their tribe they reported the circumstances, with the result that enmity against the Count was changed to veneration and he succeeded in establishing a mission which continued for some years, until war broke out between the Indian tribes themselves.

The incident of Count Zinzendorf and the serpent will recall to Bible readers the experience of St. Paul with the viper when shipwrecked on the Island of Melita on his journey to Rome—as related in Acts XXVIII, vs. 3, 4, 5.

Toby's Eddy is no more. The construction of a high railroad embankment and the ice flood of '61 completely wiped out Toby's Eddy.

Of the seventeen townships laid out by the Susquehanna Company the township of Kingston was first settled.

At the outset forty Connecticut settlers located there and as a measure of safety built the fort which later figured so largely in the history of the valley. Having regard to the number of settlers the fort was named Forty Fort.

III.

My education, such as it is, was acquired by attendance at the common schools of the time and at Madison Academy in Abington, which has long since ceased to be an academy and is now the high school of the borough of Waverly.

In my boyhood days, and more particularly in early boyhood, life in the country and in the country village was very primitive. The only heating of our homes was by means

of wood fires. The lighting in the main was by tallow candles made in the house, occasionally helped out by a whale oil lamp. There were no markets. Every family was dependent on its own garden for vegetables, and for winter use these were pretty much limited to potatoes, onions, turnips and cabbage. Canned fruit and canned vegetables were unknown. Fresh meat was infrequent though occasionally obtainable by way of exchange between neighbors, but more often from some farmer who would secure orders before hand sufficient to warrant him in killing a sheep, or calf, or steer, as the case might be. "In hog killing time," however—that is in the late fall and early winter—fresh pork would be abundant and it afforded an important and much relished addition to the family diet.

In our village oysters were a great rarity and very seldom indulged in, but in towns of the size of Wilkes-Barre they were generally obtainable during the winter months. Oysters were not, however, to be had in the shell up to say 1855. For market far away from the seashore they were taken out of the shell and put up in small wooden kegs holding about two quarts each. Even so they were considered a luxury, and we were not over critical as to the length of time or distance from their native waters.

A visit to Europe was almost unknown and unheard of, and it was some distinction to make a trip to New York or Philadelphia, which was undertaken by very few and only on rare occasions, and in the absence of railroads involved a tiresome stage ride of at least two days.

Mail facilities were few, and to a large extent mail was carried on horseback. There were no postage stamps. Payment of postage would be made either by the sender or by the recipient of letters, and was at the rate of five cents per half ounce for the first three hundred miles, with a graduated scale for greater distances, reaching a maximum, I think, of twenty-five cents.

There were no letter envelopes. Letters were so folded

that the last half sheet enveloped the letter and received the address, and they were sealed with a wafer or sealing wax.

Blotting paper was a later invention. Tin boxes, with small holes like a pepper box and filled with black sand, were kept on every desk, the sand being sprinkled over the writing to take up the surplus ink.

The common schools of the time were emphatically "common", and the teaching rarely extended beyond the rudiments expressed in the familiar formula, "the three R's".

Steel pens were not yet in use. All one's writing (and beautiful writing it often was) was done with a pen made from a quill of a goose, and one of the requisites of a common school teacher was ability to make and mend quill pens for his pupils' use.

In all the churches in our region all pews were free, and men and women sat apart, even to the separation of families.

The circulation of real money was very limited, and consisted largely of silver, mostly of Mexican coinage and denominated sixpence, shilling, etc.—the sixpence being the equivalent of six and one-quarter cents, two shillings the equivalent of a quarter of a dollar, and eight shillings of a dollar, about half the equivalent of the English shilling.

Merchants, in marking prices of their goods up to say two and a half dollars, used altogether these denominations rather than the decimal system now in universal use. For example, twenty shillings rather than two and a half dollars.

Clothing of men, women and children was much more simple and much less expensive than for many years last past.

Instead of overcoats many men made use of heavy grey shawls, which were much less expensive though less becoming than overcoats. Rubber overshoes were unknown. In icy weather women were wont to draw heavy woolen socks over their shoes to guard against slipping.

The Civil War of 1861-65 between the States, North and

South, seemed to be the turning point in the economic life of the people, and at its conclusion a new era opened, bringing about many and radical changes in the habits of the people and their modes of living.

IV.

Our home in Abington was some ten miles from the present city of Scranton, which, when I first knew it, was itself known as "Slocum Hollow" and consisted of a country tavern, a country store, a blast furnace and houses for those employed there, altogether very few in number; so few were they, I well remember that the stage which ran from Carbondale to Wilkes-Barre passed through Providence and Hyde Park, villages on the west side of the Lackawanna river, now part of Scranton, and did not find it worth while to go by way of Slocum Hollow on the east side of the river, the inhabitants of which, if they had occasion, boarded the stage at Hyde Park.

This is hard to realize in face of the fact that Scranton is now the third city of the State; its growth from such a small beginning, its large volume of business, and the progressive spirit and public enterprise of its citizens being the marvel of all who knew the region in earlier days.

The Wyoming Valley when I first knew it was famed throughout the land for its unexcelled rural beauty, and was the theme of poets and writers of prose as well.

It is to be remembered that there were no railroads, no noisy and dirty trains, no coal breakers and culm banks, no tumble-down miners' houses, no closely built up sections, but a small population, mostly a pastoral people, who were descendants of New England settlers and who observed the best traditions of their ancestors and who were housed in substantial homes with beautiful surroundings; there were fertile farms with green meadows and waving grain fields with bits of woodland; a pellucid flowing river

abounding with fish and uncontaminated by mine waste; the whole encircled by mountain ranges.

From the viewpoint of Prospect Rock on the mountain-side there lay before the beholder a landscape which neither the poet's pen nor the artist's pencil, nor both combined, could fitly portray.

Mention of the Wyoming Valley would be incomplete if it failed to make reference to the valley's great over-shadowing industry—the mining and shipment of anthracite coal.

It is a matter of regret that the prosecution of this industry has done much to mar the valley's natural beauty, but there is compensation in the fact that its landowners have been enriched, that to many thousands employment is steadily given, that millions of the people throughout the land have been afforded protection against the winter's storms and made comfortable in their homes.

The coal business had reached some considerable proportions before the Civil War, but trifling in comparison to the great output of the present day.

When a boy in Plymouth, in 1855, I remember hearing it remarked of the largest coal operation in Plymouth, as a great achievement, that it had mined and shipped to market in a single year fifteen thousand tons of coal—not the equivalent of the output for ten days of any one of a number of collieries of the present day.

Apropos of the Plymouth shipment, we may remark that the money value of the coal shipped from the Wyoming Valley for a number of years past is the equivalent of more than fifty million dollars per year, all produced from a territory three miles by twenty miles in extent.

Where on the globe can one find any approach to this output of mineral wealth from a territory of equal area?

The anthracite coal trade received a great impetus by the Civil War, due to the fact that the United States Government adopted its use for the vessels of the navy for the reason that it was smokeless. The blockade runners and

vessels of the Confederate navy labored under the disadvantage of being compelled to use bituminous coal, which left a long trail of smoke and thus betrayed their location, while those using anthracite coal were comparatively safe from discovery.

v.

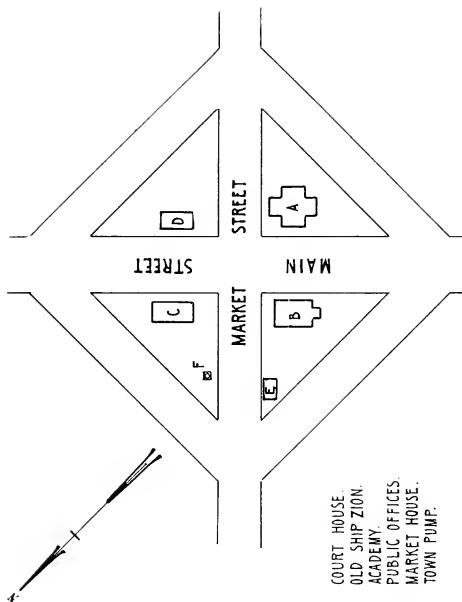
I came to know Wilkes-Barre fairly well early in life and when the town had a population of less than three thousand, but was the centre of influence, social and civil, for all Northeastern Pennsylvania.

As already stated, I was a frequent visitor at the nearby villages of Kingston and Plymouth, and I also visited relatives who lived in Wilkes-Barre.

I well remember the year 1848 because of an experience which made a never-to-be-forgotten impression upon my boyish mind. That year marked the close of the Mexican War, and in July the company of soldiers known as the "Wyoming Artillerists", under the command of Captain Edmund L. Dana, who had gone from Wilkes-Barre and served during the campaign under Major General Winfield Scott, returned home and was warmly welcomed by a turnout of practically the whole valley.

Captain Dana's company arrived in canal packet boats, debarked along Canal street, now Pennsylvania avenue, near South street, and was met by all the military organizations of the valley, commanded by their regimental officers. The reception and parade were followed by an address of welcome by President Judge John N. Conyngham. An evergreen arch of welcome spanned Franklin street in front of Captain Dana's home, a frame building on the site of the present church rectory, next St. Stephen's church.

I remember, too, that hand in hand with my girl cousin and playmate, now Mrs. Bruce Ricketts, I attended a performance given by Tom Thumb in the Hillard Block in the year 1849, when I was less than nine years old and she several years my junior. Another attendant at that same



- A COURT HOUSE.
- B OLD SHIP ZION.
- C ACADEMY.
- D PUBLIC OFFICES.
- E MARKET HOUSE.
- F TOWN PUMP.

PUBLIC SQUARE IN 1850 WILKES-BARRE, PA.

performance was a young Miss also some years younger than myself, now and for a long time past my neighbor and good friend, Mrs. William L. Conyngham.

I recall the general appearance of the town at the time, and as it continued without much change throughout the fifties and for some years more, when it was hardly more than a village.

The river common, now so beautiful with its stately trees and its lawn and its walks and flowers, was then entirely bare of trees, and cows at pasture were its principal occupants.

One day in the year the common below Northampton street was given over to the circus, an event looked forward to with great interest and which gathered together a very large part of the population of the valley. The common was the playground of the town and ball games and other sports were there indulged in.

I might remark, incidentally, that in the opinion of the elders of my relatives the circus, and particularly its clown, were considered rather demoralizing, and we youngsters were warned to limit ourselves to watching the parade; but some years later the ban was removed.

In grading the lower river common for a short distance above South street some fifty years ago, the workmen uncovered an ancient Indian burial ground. Besides a large number of skeletons they found numerous arrow heads, pipes, and other Indian relics, many of which relics, and, perhaps, most of them, are in the possession of the Historical Society.

Main street and Market street extended through the Public Square and thus divided the Square into four parts.

On the southern part was located the old frame court house. On the west portion was the old church known as "Old Ship Zion", with its very tall and graceful steeple, about one hundred and sixty feet in height. On the northern portion of the Square was located the old Wilkes-Barre

Academy and the town pump, and on the east portion a stone building which contained the county offices. At the right of the entrance of Market street was a small open market house, later used to house a fire engine, and itself destroyed by fire in June, 1855.

All the buildings on the Public Square were removed about the year 1858 to make room for the erection, in the center of the Square, of the court house which soon followed. This court house was in turn taken down in 1909 on the completion of the present court house at the head of the river common, and the Square itself was beautified as a city park.

The origin of the name "Old Ship Zion" is uncertain and is buried in the dim past. The erection of the church was begun in 1801, but it was not ready for occupancy until 1812, and was the result of the combined efforts of the Congregationalists or Presbyterians, the Episcopalians and the Methodists, who occupied it in turn. In time friction developed and the several denominations parted company. The first to give offense were the Episcopalians, who made bold to trim the church with evergreens at Christmas. This was an affront to the Puritan idea of Christmas and was not to be overlooked. The Episcopalians retired from the field and about the year 1822 erected a frame church on the present site of St. Stephen's. Later a dispute arose between the Presbyterians and the Methodists, and the former sold out their interest for one thousand dollars and about the year 1831 or 1832 built a frame church on the present site of the Osterhout Library.

The Methodists remained in possession of "Old Ship Zion" until they built and occupied, about the year 1849, their brick church on North Franklin street, which was replaced by the present structure in 1884-1885.

The streets around the four sides of the Square were taken up mainly by business buildings, but to some extent by residences. These buildings were generally of frame,



THE OLD COURT HOUSE.

Demolished 1858.

two stories high, and this was true of the great majority of the buildings in the town; brick buildings being an exception. The buildings on the north and east sides of the Square were destroyed by fire about sixty years ago and replaced by brick buildings three or more stories high. The south side of the Square was rebuilt in brick somewhat earlier and the west side many years later.

At the east corner of Public Square and East Market street there remained, until about forty years ago, a frame house which for many years was the home of Hon. David Scott, who preceded Judge Conyngham on the bench and served as president judge of the Eleventh Judicial District, of which Luzerne county formed a part, from the year 1818 to 1838, a period of twenty years.

On the site of the present Bennett office building, at the intersection of the Square and North Main street, stood Steele's hotel, a large five-story brick building, well known in its day, erected some time in the fifties.

In passing, it may be remarked that the term "hotel" is a rather modern one. In common parlance of the time and in legal designation such places were termed "taverns".

The handsome bank building of the First National Bank, facing the Square on the south side, was the site of a pretentious brick residence, three stories high, and at the time of its removal the oldest brick building in Wilkes-Barre. It was erected and occupied in 1807 by Joseph Slocum, (brother of Frances Slocum, the "Lost Sister of Wyoming", taken captive by the Indians when five years old, in November, 1778, some four months after the Wyoming Massacre. Some sixty years later she was found on an Indian reservation in Indiana, the widow of an Indian chief.)

The mention of Joseph Slocum recalls a romantic incident that related to one of his daughters. One day in 1879, about midday, I happened to be in the law office of Stanley Woodward (where I had formerly been a student), when a rather distinguished looking gentleman entered, whom I

at once recognized as Mr. William G. Moorehead of Philadelphia, having met him a year or two earlier at the seashore. Mr. Moorehead was one of the prominent citizens and a leading business man of Philadelphia. He made a large fortune in the South America trade and became a partner in the banking house of Jay Cooke & Company, at the time one of the great banking houses of the country.

While Mr. Moorehead was greeting Mr. Woodward I took the opportunity to leave the office for my home, and as I walked down Franklin street I happened to look back and saw Mr. Moorehead and Mr. Woodward following. I was a little curious to know their destination, inasmuch as I had heard it hinted that early in life Mr. Moorehead visited here and had an affair of the heart. The two gentlemen entered the home of Mrs. Lord Butler, on the west-erly side of Franklin street, third door below Northampton street. An hour or so later I called at Mr. Woodward's office and remarked to him that I had noticed that he and Mr. Moorehead called at Mrs. Butler's. "Why, yes," he said, "that is rather interesting. As soon as you left Mr. Moorehead said: 'Woodward, I was here in 1829, fifty years ago. I and another young Philadelphian were taking a trip and we came here bringing letters of introduction to your father, who was also a young man and who had not then, I think, been admitted to the bar. While here a grand party was given at the home of Judge Mallery, to which party your father secured invitations for us and I met there, I think, the prettiest girl I ever saw in my life. I completely lost my heart with her and I remained here some two weeks in the hope of winning her but found there was no use as she was already engaged and I had to give up the pursuit. I wonder if she is living still.' I said, 'What was the young lady's name?' He answered 'Abi Slocum.' I then said, 'Yes, indeed, she is living. She is my wife's aunt and lives down the street a short distance. Wouldn't you like to call on her?' 'I would of all things.' We called

and inquired for Mrs. Butler. She very soon appeared and I presented Mr. Moorehead. Then Mr. Moorehead remarked to her: 'Mrs. Butler, I met you fifty years ago at a party at Judge Mallery's.' She at first could not recall the party, but Mr. Moorehead then stated: 'I remember it so well that I even remember the dress you wore,' and he gave her some short description of the dress and material, whereupon Mrs. Butler exclaimed: 'I have the dress still in a quilt upstairs and I will bring it down,' which she at once did, and Mr. Moorehead, evidently very much interested, exclaimed: 'That's the dress; that's the dress.' After some more pleasant talk with Mrs. Butler we took our leave."

Judge Garrick Mallery (admitted August 8, 1811) at whose home was given the party in 1829, was the most distinguished lawyer of his time at the Luzerne bar, or, in fact, in Northeastern Pennsylvania. He was appointed in 1831 judge of the Berks and Northampton District, and after a few years service resigned and removed to Philadelphia and became eminent at the Philadelphia bar. His home in Wilkes-Barre was a large colonial frame house that stood on the site now occupied by the Wilkes-Barre Institute.

VI.

Main street, on its westerly side, from the Square to Northampton street, was taken up by business buildings. On its easterly side it was altogether occupied by residences, and this was practically true of Main street north of the Square to Union street, beyond which were very few buildings.

On the easterly side of Main street, south of Northampton street, nearly all the lots were vacant, but there was one notable exception. For some one hundred and thirty years there has been standing on the easterly side of Main street, about midway between Northampton street and South street, a large two-story frame structure, known as

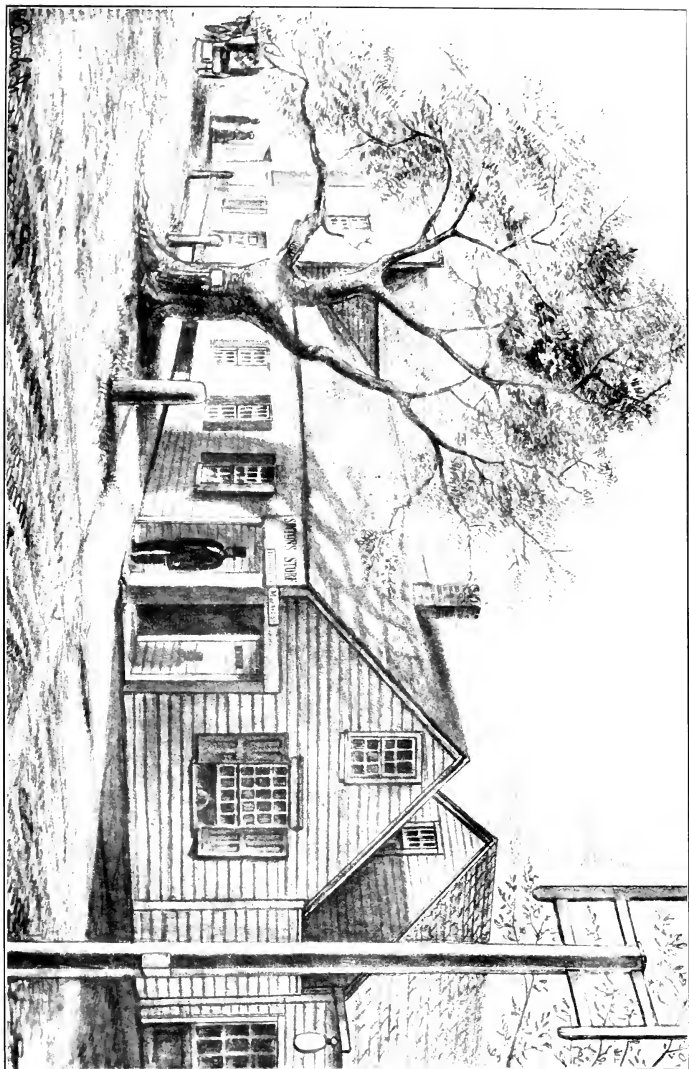
the Ross house, the oldest and most historic building now standing in Wilkes-Barre, but hemmed in on either side by business buildings. In its construction oak timbers and oak sidings and nails wrought by hand were used. It was built about the year 1788 by Timothy Pickering, a native of Salem, Mass., who had served as adjutant general of Washington's army and after the Revolutionary War settled in Philadelphia. In 1787 he was sent by the government of the State to Wilkes-Barre to organize the county of Luzerne and was commissioned to hold most of the county offices. He remained here until 1792, having the year previous been appointed postmaster general by President Washington. Later he successively filled the offices of secretary of war and secretary of state in Washington's cabinet, and was continued as secretary of state in the cabinet of President John Adams. After his retirement from the cabinet he returned to Salem and was elected to represent Massachusetts in the United States Senate.

The Main street house, together with surrounding land, was sold by Pickering to General William Ross and is held to this day by his descendants.

Until 1864 Franklin street ended at South street, all beyond being farms except a small settlement about the intersection of Main, Ross and Hazle streets, known as "Woodville" and quite apart from the built up portion of the town. The Methodist Church, which until recent years stood on Ross street near Main, and of which the Central Methodist Church at Franklin and Academy streets is the successor, was known as the Woodville church and so named in its charter.

Washington street, with very few buildings along it and ending at South street, was grass grown—a wagon track marking the traveled portion of the highway.

West Market street (now somewhat out of the running) ranked with the westerly side of South Main street and the Public Square as a business section. The buildings



OLD SINTON STORE

Present site of Wyoming Bank. Demolished in 1860

were mostly frame, nearly all of which between Franklin and River streets were destroyed by fire in 1867, and among them the Eagle Hotel, a large three-story frame building which stood on the north corner of Market and Franklin streets, now the site of the Dime Bank. An old landmark and in its day a busy corner was Sinton's store, at one time doing the largest mercantile business in Wilkes-Barre, a one-story frame building, taken down in 1860, and its site now and for many years occupied by the Wyoming Bank.

The Sinton store, like all country stores at the time, dealt in practically all articles of merchandise—dry goods, groceries, hats, boots and shoes, crockery, hardware, etc., suggestive of the department store of the present day.

The Quaker merchants, Jacob and Joseph Sinton, were most scrupulous and exact in all their dealings; most particular were they to see that full weight and full measure were accorded every customer. As already stated, the silver coinage of the time involved fractions of cents, and the Sintons, unable to return change to the half cent, would hand the customer part of a paper of pins or needles of equivalent value.

Another successful old-time merchant was John B. Wood, who, in striking contrast to the usual laudation of one's wares, advertised in large headlines in the newspapers of the day:

"POOR GOODS AT HIGH PRICES."

The novelty of this advertisement seemed to attract trade. Sales increased to such an extent that in time Mr. Wood was able to retire from the mercantile business and become a banker.

East Market street has been transformed from a very quiet neighborhood to one of the busiest sections of the city. When I first knew it there were no business places and very few houses between the Square and Washington street, and fewer still beyond.

On the lower side of East Market street, on the corner of

Washington street, where now is located the Derr building and other buildings, stood until the year 1873 the county jail, with its yard enclosed by a high and heavy stone wall extending halfway to the Public Square. This jail yard was the scene of the execution of some five or six criminals, at different times, found guilty of murder in the first degree.

On one of these occasions, now sixty years or more ago, a young man of the immediate neighborhood and a member of one of the first families—whose allowance was limited by his family for prudential reasons—with a resourceful turn of mind but lacking in a becoming sense of the fitness of things, erected a ladder to the roof of his widowed mother's house (greatly to her annoyance when she learned of it) that afforded a point of view from which could be witnessed the tragedy within the walls of the jail. A considerable number of persons, with a morbid taste difficult to account for, availed themselves of the opportunity and at a shilling a head ascended the ladder and took their places on the roof. While comfortably seated and intent on the scenes in the jail yard, the enterprising young man, quietly and unobserved, removed the ladder. At the conclusion of the execution the occupants of the roof discovered their dilemma and became more anxious to get down than they had been to get up. The young man would only replace the ladder upon condition that his guests should each drop down to him a quarter of a dollar (which was twice the original price of admission), with which condition the roof occupants unanimously and promptly complied.

One, at least, of the occupants of the roof at the time named, is still a highly respected resident of the valley.

From the settlement of the town, and until nearly fifty years ago, the "Wilkes-Barre Burying Ground" (so-called by the inhabitants and so designated on the town plot) occupied the north side of Market street from Washington

street to Canal street, now Pennsylvania avenue, and extended north one-third of the distance to Union street.

It was utterly different from the cemetery of modern times. There many of the forefathers of the hamlet slept. Shining white marble and polished granite shafts were absent, and in their stead were simple memorials marking the burial places of the worthy men and women who rested there. It continued to be practically the universal place of sepulture of the departed inhabitants of the old borough until the opening of the Hollenback Cemetery in the year 1856, followed by that of the City Cemetery in the year 1870, to which latter one all remaining in the old "burying ground" were reverently removed and the premises afterwards closely built up by the city building and other buildings.

An occurrence, more than forty years ago, at an interment in the Hollenback Cemetery strikingly illustrated the proverb that "it is only a step from the sublime to the ridiculous." The wife of a leading citizen had passed away, and among her pall bearers was a very portly and rotund and well-known member of the bar, of whom it might be said, in the language of a Dutch settler, that "he was taller round than he was high". During the services at the grave, and when the casket was about to be lowered to its place, the earth suddenly gave away under the feet of our plethoric friend and he gently glided into the grave ahead of the casket. By reason of his rotundity and his avoirdupois, he was unable to help himself, but by the combined efforts of the undertaker and pall bearers and sympathetic friends, and the use of straps intended for lowering the coffin, our friend was rescued from his predicament and safely landed on the surface. A solemn function was turned into comedy. The transition from grave to gay (no pun intended) was sudden and unexpected. The services were concluded with some haste, the friends of the departed meantime maintaining reasonable decorum, but

as soon as restraint was removed and they had re-entered their carriages the pent up merriment found vent and the demeanor on their return home of the friends who had been present at the sad and solemn service betokened an attendance at a circus rather than at a funeral.

VII.

The appearance of River street has been much changed and improved within my recollection—new and better buildings taking the place of old ones.

A brewery—the oldest brewery in the county and for many years the only brewery—was in operation near the south corner of River and Union streets. The premises extended along River street for a distance of about three hundred feet, on which are now standing several handsome private residences.

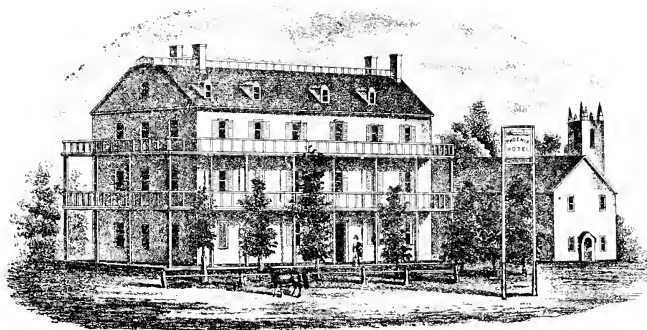
A large vacant corner lot and several small frame buildings occupied the present site of "The Sterling" and of the adjoining brick buildings on Market street.

Thirty years ago there was still standing on the present site of the Coal Exchange, corner of River and Market streets, a large brick building three stories high, occupied mainly as a residence, but the corner rooms on the first floor as a store. Adjoining it on the south side was a two-story brick building, which for a number of years housed the Wyoming Bank.

The home of Judge John N. Conyngham, where he lived the greater part of his life, was about halfway down this block and is now owned and occupied by Major Stearns.

On River street, about one hundred feet below Market street, was located the Phoenix Hotel, which was taken down more than fifty years ago and was succeeded by the Wyoming Valley Hotel, which in its turn was removed a few years since and replaced by the present office building of the Lehigh & Wilkes-Barre Coal Company.

One September morning, in 1853, three strangers were



PHOENIX HOTEL, IN 1850.

(From Oscar J. Harvey's "History of Wilkes-Barre and Wyoming Valley.")

being served with breakfast at the old Phoenix by a colored waiter whose name was William Thomas, a quadroon of powerful build and handsome appearance, and who it seems was a fugitive slave from the South. Other guests at the table and the employes of the hotel were startled by the sudden act of the three strangers in all springing upon Thomas and making a brutal assault in an attempt to place handcuffs upon him. They tore off most of his clothing and inflicted several painful wounds. Of the three strangers, one was the agent of the alleged owner of Thomas and the other two were deputies of Colonel Wynkoop, United States Marshal, who several years before had been the colonel of the regiment in the Mexican War of which regiment Captain Dana's company was a part.

Fortunately for Thomas the deputy marshals and the agent succeeded only in placing the handcuffs on Thomas' one hand, which, as a matter of fact, furnished him with a very effective weapon of defense. Swinging the one free handcuff he kept his assailants at bay. Seizing a carving knife from the table he rushed, all blood stained, from the room, and across the river common and down the bank into the river, some distance from shore. The deputies and the owner's agent quickly followed, and, standing at the top of the bank, displayed revolvers and commanded Thomas to come out or they would shoot him. He replied: "You can shoot me but you can't take me." The news rapidly spread and a large crowd quickly gathered, some of whom are yet living. Among the crowd were many colored citizens of the town, including Rex, the colored barber, who called to Thomas: "Drown yourself, Bill; drown yourself; don't let them take you!" The advice to drown himself did not seem to appeal to Bill, who was standing in the water up to his neck. The sympathies of the crowd were with Thomas, and the movements of the agent and the two deputies were so hampered and impeded that they practically could do nothing. Meantime Thomas made his way

around the bridge abutment and along the river shore to a point above Union street, and then passed out of sight and made good his escape to Canada.

The crowd of colored men assumed a threatening attitude toward the agent and the deputies; the latter, taking alarm, hurriedly ordered their horses and carriage and drove rapidly down River street, pursued by the colored men who shouted vengeance. The horses were put to the run and the pursuers were soon out-distanced.

The affair created great excitement and the newspapers here and elsewhere devoted much space to it. The agent and deputies were indicted by the grand jury, but a writ of habeas corpus was granted and, upon a hearing at Philadelphia before Mr. Justice Grier of the United States Supreme Court, the defendants were discharged from custody.

Colonel Wynkoop, United States Marshal, offered a reward of a hundred dollars for information leading to the conviction of the persons who interfered with the deputies, but evidently the information was not forthcoming.

Some few years after these occurrence Thomas was seen by one of our citizens serving as head waiter at the Clifton House on the Canadian side of Niagara Falls.

One effect of the attack on Thomas was to completely change the politics of some who witnessed it. Certain of them who were pronounced Democrats and in favor of the fugitive slave law were so impressed with the brutality incident to the law's enforcement that they became at once active Abolitionists, and thereafter aided fugitive slaves to make good their escape.

VIII.

The Phoenix Hotel in the forties and fifties and some years earlier and later was famed for its table. It was in the days when there were no game laws and when game was abundant. As soon as the weather permitted, game

was supplied in large quantities from the neighboring mountains, and the larder of the Phoenix Hotel was always furnished during the cold season with venison, pheasant, quail and an occasional wild turkey. The hotel was fortunate in having an exceptionally good cook, and its patrons from the city were regaled with game cooked to the "queen's taste". The landlord, Gilchrist, presided at table, did the carving for his guests and looked after their comfort. The dinner table was always supplied with two bottles of brandy for such use as the guests might care to make of them.

Is it any wonder that the hotel was known far and wide?

It may be stated as a general fact that in the early days the landlord of a hotel was apt to be a man of consequence and standing in the community. As a class they were generally respected and were often called to hold public office when it was a distinction to hold public office, as marking the esteem and respect and confidence in which one was held by his fellow citizens.

The mention of game leads me to say, with fond recollection of the good old days, that in the early years of my married life game was still abundant, and during several months of the year the farmers who supplied eggs and dairy products would also supply us with pheasants at fifty cents the pair.

The Wyoming Valley Hotel (where for some years I was a boarder), which succeeded the Phoenix, was opened for business in the spring of 1866 by the Messrs. Ward of Philadelphia and was conducted on the plane of a first class city hotel.

During the summer season, in the first few years of its existence, it was filled with summer visitors from the cities. An orchestra was maintained and dancing indulged in every evening and sometimes in the forenoon. Evidently the pace was a little too fast. After several years the Wards sold out to Mr. Stark, who thereafter conducted the house as a first-class business hotel, eliminating all the features of a

summer resort. After the erection of the Sterling, with all its modern appointments, the Wyoming Valley lost patronage, and, as already stated, was a few years ago demolished.

Summer gayety was not confined to the Wyoming Valley Hotel but was indulged in to a reasonable extent by the social set of the town. Occasional dances, picnic parties (sometimes on horseback) to Prospect Rock, to Bald Mountain, to Campbell's Ledge, to Harvey's Lake, were features of the summer in the olden time.

The regular summer hegira of the present day is in striking contrast to the habit of our people in this respect fifty and more years ago. Then, except for an occasional trip of short duration, the "good old summer time" was the season to remain here and to invite and entertain one's out-of-town friends. In very many of the homes guests were coming and going the whole season through, and to such young men, situated as I was, who were fortunate enough to have the entree of these homes, the summer was a delight and the experiences of those days remain a pleasant memory.

The social life in winter, as well as in summer, was the source of great enjoyment to all who participated. It involved comparatively little expense and was well suited to the rather narrow purses of the young men of the time. Formal dinners were of very rare occurrence and were confined to the older generation. A round of evening parties was usually given during the winter months, at which the viands served, with little variation, were cold turkey, fried oysters, chicken salad, coffee, cake and ice cream, all of the best quality and prepared with the greatest care in the house of the hostess by herself and her own domestics. The young men accompanied the young lady guests to and from their homes, but this did not involve the use of carriages or the providing of bouquets—there were no carriages to be hired and no florists to sell flowers, and if there had been the financial condition of the young beaux would

not have warranted the expense of either. As a matter of fact no young man of my acquaintance, with one possible exception, was the owner of a dress suit, and he almost never appeared in it. None of the young ladies at that time wore silk dresses, but they were arrayed in washable material called, I think, Swiss, adorned with a Roman sash, and I am quite sure that their appearance compared very favorably with the best dressed belle of the present time.

Cards were generally taboo. Dancing was commonly indulged in to the music of the piano played by one of the guests; but there was a prejudice against round dancing, so that this diversion was confined practically to the lancers, quadrilles, Virginia reel and what may be denominated square dances.

Once, and possibly twice, a year, during the winter months, the young men in return for the courtesies they had received arranged for a sleigh ride to Raub's Hotel at Mill Hollow, now Luzerne. Long sleighs, with seats on the sides, with straw in the bottom and plenty of buffalo robes accommodated the party, and two fiddlers and a cello supplied the music. The expense of all this, together with a turkey supper, amounted ordinarily to about three dollars a couple.

I recall my first acquaintance with champagne. The people of my native village were very straight-laced and what might be called total abstainers by nature. The use of any beverage stronger than cider was severely frowned upon, so that my knowledge of wine was merely by hearsay. I had only heard of champagne. At a party given by Mr. William L. Conyngham, at the home of his father, Judge Conyngham, in about the year 1863, I happened to be a guest, though much younger than the other gentlemen present. Champagne was served and I remember my surprise at its amber color. In my innocence I supposed all wine was red, having in mind the proverb "Look not upon the wine when it is red." However, I kept my surprise to

myself, drank my share of the champagne, asking no questions, finding it then and since agreeable to the taste, and because of its color not included in the ban of the proverb.

IX.

As before stated, Franklin street, until 1864, ended at South street. On the east side of the street, in the block from Northampton to South street, there were, as I recall, only six houses, none of which is standing now; all else on that side of the street was vacant land.

On the south corner of River and Northampton streets, on the site of the present Woodward house, was located the home of Colonel Zebulon Butler. Here, in 1786, Colonel Butler entertained as his guest Colonel Ethan Allen, who at the outset of the Revolutionary War in 1775, at the head of the Green Mountain boys of Vermont, appeared before the British strongholds, Ticonderoga and Crown Point on Lake Champlain and "in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress" demanded and received their surrender. Colonel Allen was known as an able and intrepid leader and came here upon the invitation of the Connecticut settlers with the view of leading a forcible resistance against the authority of Pennsylvania and the establishment of an independent State to be called Westmoreland. There was a division of sentiment among the settlers and the scheme was abandoned.

In the Butler house, on the 27th day of May, 1787, was organized the county of Luzerne, its courts established and its officials inducted into office, all under the supervision of Timothy Pickering, who had been specially appointed for the purpose by the State authorities. Among these officials was Colonel Butler's eldest son, Lord Butler, the first sheriff of Luzerne county, whose commission, bearing the signature of Benjamin Franklin, president of the executive council of the State, is still in existence and in the possession of his great grandson, Judge John Butler Woodward.

In the Act of Assembly, 25th September, 1786, erecting the county, it was given the name "Luzerne", in honor of the Chevalier de la Luzerne, minister from France to the United States, 1778-1783, and who, in 1780, when the Continental Army was in dire need, came to its relief by a pledge of his personal credit. Of this generous act grateful acknowledgment was made by Washington.

A large picture of the Chevalier de la Luzerne, believed to be a faithful likeness, is painted on the westerly wall of the corridor of the present court house near the entrance to the commissioners' office.

Some years before the beginning of the last century there was on River street, about midway between Northampton and South streets, the "Arndt Tavern". The tavern disappeared long long ago, and on part of its site is now located the residence of Mr. Darling.

Near sunset on a summer day in 1797 a small boat moored at the river's shore and three distinguished looking strangers debarked and sought lodging at the old tavern. The strangers, it transpired, were princes born in sunny France, Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, who later became King of the French, and his two brothers, Duke of Montpensier and Count Beaujolais, exiles compelled to leave their native land, then struggling in the throes of revolution. They were at the time on their return to Philadelphia from a visit to the French refugee settlement at Asylum, Bradford county, Pennsylvania. More than fifty years later, at an audience granted by the king to George Catlin, the Indian painter, who was a native of Wilkes-Barre, the king referred to his sojourn in America and incidentally to his visit to Asylum, and his stay overnight "at a little village named Wilkes-Barre," when Catlin, very much interested, exclaimed, "Why that was my native place."

George Catlin was a son of Putnam Catlin, one of the four attorneys admitted on the organization of the county in 1787, and was born in 1796 in a frame house on the east

side of Main street, a short distance below the Public Square, about where now stands the Simon Long store.

He was admitted to the Luzerne bar January 4, 1819, but soon abandoned the law to lead the life of an artist. He early developed a talent for portrait painting. Among others, he painted a portrait of Dolly Madison, in a turban, which has been many times reproduced; a portrait of Governor DeWitt Clinton, which hangs in the governor's room in the New York City Hall; portraits of Indian Chiefs Red Jacket and Black Hawk, painted in Washington. In 1828-30 Catlin painted the Constitutional Convention of Virginia in session at Richmond, embracing one hundred and fifteen figures—actual portraits of the most distinguished members. In 1832 he went among, and for some eight years remained among, the Indian tribes beyond the Mississippi river, where no white man had preceded him. He painted the portraits of nearly five hundred Indians and thus created an Indian portrait gallery, which he later exhibited in London and Paris, and, in fact, in all the leading capitals of Europe, where his gallery excited great interest and attention.

He related that on one occasion when exhibiting in Egyptian Hall, London, and the room was well filled with the nobility of England, his gallery was visited by a company of Ojibway Indians, whom another enterprising American had taken abroad for purposes of exhibition. Many of them were known to Catlin personally, he having spent considerable time in their tribe. When they arrived at Egyptian Hall, arrayed in their native costume, they greeted Catlin most effusively as an old friend, and when they discovered among the pictures the portrait of their chief, who was of the party, they gave the Indian whoop and joined in an Indian dance. The excitement, as may well be imagined, was intense and communicated itself to the English visitors. It proved a great advertisement for Catlin and removed any possible doubt of the genuineness of the portraits.

Of the Catlin gallery of Indian portraits, a considerable

number are now owned by the American Museum of Natural History in New York, but by far the greater number are owned by the Government of the United States and are on exhibition at the National Museum, Washington.

Catlin and my father were first cousins, their mothers being sisters.

X.

At the east corner of River and South streets was a large frame house erected more than a hundred years ago by Rosewell Welles, one of the four attorneys admitted to the bar on the formation of the county and the organization of the courts. It is said of him that he was an accomplished lawyer and a finished orator. His wife was the eldest daughter of Colonel Zebulon Butler, and his home was in its time one of the social centers of the town.

When I first knew the premises the house was in a dilapidated condition and the large lot surrounding it was utilized as a lumber yard, and the whole neighborhood was uninviting.

In this house was entertained as a guest Harman Blennerhasset, who, as was afterwards revealed, was on his way from a conference with Aaron Burr to his paradise of a home on an island in the Ohio river—into which paradise the serpent entered in the person of Burr, to the utter ruin of the too trustful proprietor and his family.

On this same lot in a log house, which preceded the Welles house, Colonel Nathan Denison, who was next in command to Colonel Zebulon Butler at the battle, July 3, 1778, was joined in marriage to Elizabeth Sill, the first marriage in Wyoming. Numerous descendants are found in a number of families of the valley—the Denisons, the Shoemakers, the Sharpes, and others. The site of the Welles house is now occupied by the handsome stone residence of our townsman, Mr. Fred M. Kirby.

One summer day, after a circus performance on the lower river common, I walked with another boy to South street

and entered an old frame building located midway between South River and West River streets on the present site of Mrs. Conyngham's conservatory. Through the old building was an open arch, and standing on a railroad track in the arch was a small car painted a bright red and about the size of an ordinary street car. I learned that this car made a daily trip to and from White Haven, being drawn by a pair of horses or mules to the foot of the planes at Coalville, now Ashley, and was thence taken up the planes to the top of the mountain and then by a small locomotive to White Haven, where it connected with the slack water navigation of the Lehigh river.

The old depot and the railroad tracks between South street and a point below Academy were removed many years ago, but the tracks still remaining below Academy street are in use as part of the railroad system of the Central Railroad of New Jersey.

At the north corner of Franklin and Northampton streets, on the present site of the First Presbyterian Church, was located a large and imposing brick mansion on ample grounds extending from Northampton street to the present Osterhout Library, the home of George M. Hollenback, who was the largest holder of city property and much the wealthiest citizen of his time.

Northampton street was sparsely built, but there were several buildings on the street having some special interest.

On the east corner of Franklin street, but fronting Northampton street, stood, until 1893, a small frame house which had for many years been the home of Jean Francois Dupuy, a French refugee, who with his daughters had escaped from the massacre of San Domingo, which followed the rising of the blacks in the year 1791, and had come to Wilkes-Barre in 1796.

I often saw his two daughters, who continued to live in the Dupuy house for some years after I became a resident here.

Dupuy was a native of Bordeaux, France, and in the reminiscences of Hon. Charles Miner—distinguished editor, legislator, congressman and historian—recently published by the Historical Society, he is referred to as a member of the National Convention that condemned Louis XVI.

In his last illness Dupuy was visited by Mr. Miner, who found him weak and listless and irresponsive to Mr. Miner's efforts to interest or encourage him. All else failing, Mr. Miner (who it seems had some musical talent) struck up the Marsellaise, which at once stirred a responsive chord in the old Frenchman. Rousing instantly, he sat up, his eye flashing fire, and, taking up the note, he made the room ring again.

It is rather an interesting coincidence that Dupuy, the representative of French democracy, was living here at the time of the visit of Louis Phillipe, the scion of French royalty.

Next the site of the Dupuy house there still stands on Northampton street, and has stood for more than a century, a rather modest frame house which as early as 1813 was owned and occupied by John Bannister Gibson, who was then the president judge of the courts of Luzerne and several adjoining counties, and who so remained until June, 1816, when he was elevated to the Supreme bench, where he served thirty-seven years and achieved great distinction as chief justice of the Commonwealth. He ranked with Chief Justice Marshall as one of the greatest judges of his time or of any time.

Judge Gibson's opinions were marvels of clearness and close reasoning and they did much to establish precedent and to settle the law in many important respects affecting the public welfare in the early days of the Commonwealth. One of his great decisions was on a question which seriously disturbed American politics—the power of the court to declare a legislative Act unconstitutional and therefore

void. A rather notable example of his terse and incisive style is found in *Commonwealth v. Stauffer*, 10 Pa. 350.

Judge Gibson was an accomplished violinist, and it was told me by his son, Colonel Gibson of the United States Army, that when his father was at work writing his opinions, he kept near at hand his violin, and at frequent intervals would take it up and play upon it for a short time and thus relieve the strain of work.

At the east corner of Northampton and Washington streets, and until very recent years in practically its original condition, was the "Old Fell Tavern", noted as being the place where on February 11, 1808, as the result of a successful experiment, anthracite coal was first burned in a grate by Associate Judge Jesse Fell, and its practical use for domestic purposes thus demonstrated. On the fiftieth anniversary of this event, and largely in commemoration of it, the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society was founded.

XI.

There were comparatively few buildings on Union street, and the same was true of Canal street.

On the westerly corner of Union and Franklin streets was a three-story frame building, the home of Andrew Beaumont until his death in 1853. He was a distinguished man in his day, and a prominent party leader who represented the district for several terms in the Federal Congress and held other offices of importance under both the Federal and State governments.

As early as 1840, and probably for some years earlier, the Democratic party in Luzerne county was divided into two factions, so nearly balanced in numbers that between the two factions, as well as between each faction and the Whig party, there was a difference of only a few hundred votes at any time, and in one notable contest a difference between the three of less than a hundred votes. Of the one faction Mr. Beaumont was the leader; the other faction was led

by Colonel Hendrick B. Wright. The Wright faction was dubbed by their opponents "The Bobtails", for some local reason, and they retaliated by calling the Beaumont faction "Copperheads".

In recent years, and, in fact, within a few months past, the origin of the term "Copperhead", as a political designation, has been a matter of newspaper discussion, but its application to the Beaumont faction of the Democratic party in this county more than seventy-five years ago, and continuing for a number of years, was without any manner of doubt the first use of the term "Copperhead" as a political epithet; and it long preceded the application of the term during the Civil War to such as were regarded as being sympathizers with the South.

For a short time after my arrival in Wilkes-Barre, in 1861, I boarded at the Exchange Hotel, kept by Major P., fronting on the easterly side of the Square, and recently remodeled as "The Fort Durkee". While the Major was a very good landlord, his education was of the most limited character, and I venture to think that he never read a book and very rarely a newspaper. To fill a vacancy, and much to his elation and the surprise of his acquaintances, he was elected major of the regiment of which Colonel Charles Dorrance, one of the substantial and prominent citizens of the valley was the head. The election was followed by a dinner at Helme's tavern, then a noted hostelry in Kingston. Seated alongside of the Major was one of Wilkes-Barre's wags (of whom the town boasted a number at the time). This waggish friend suggested to the Major that in all propriety the latter ought to propose the health of his colonel. After careful coaching by the friend, the Major arose, lifted his glass and proposed "the health of the pusillanimous Colonel Dorrance." This was met with an outburst that fairly raised the roof. Major P. was delighted with the manifest success of his toast, and beamed on all around. As soon as order was in some measure restored,

Colonel Dorrance arose, and with becoming dignity and grace of manner proposed the health of the ignoble Major P. This likewise provoked great merriment and applause, and again delighted the Major, who with radiant face bowed his acknowledgments to the colonel and to the diners.

Speaking of toasts calls to mind one current fifty years ago, offered by another citizen of Wilkes-Barre, who was very much pleased with his effort:

"Here is to water, emblem of its own eternity, enjoys its own prerogative."

I remained as a boarder at the Exchange Hotel only about a month, and then, with others, including Palmer, took board with a family that leased the house No. 220 North Main street and about three hundred feet above North street, owned at the time by Colonel Alexander Hamilton Bowman of the United States Army, who shortly before had been appointed superintendent of the United States Military Academy at West Point, where his family soon followed him and where he remained during the Civil War and then returned to his Wilkes-Barre home. He continued here until the time of his death in the year 1865.

Colonel Bowman was a native of Wilkes-Barre and a distinguished army officer and engineer. Some years before the Civil War, by appointment of the war department, Colonel Bowman was assigned to the duty of constructing Fort Sumter on Sullivan's Island in Charleston harbor, a work which he accomplished to the great satisfaction of the United States Government. In this work he called to his aid Dr. Charles F. Ingham, another citizen of Wilkes-Barre, who very early in life abandoned the medical profession and became a civil engineer of high repute. The building of Fort Sumter may, therefore, be regarded, in a measure, as a Wilkes-Barrean enterprise, or rather, as a result of the engineering abilities of Wilkes-Barre citizens. It will be remembered that the bombardment of this Fort marked the beginning of the Civil War.

Colonel Bowman's house was located in extensive grounds, embracing some six acres. The house is still standing and of striking and attractive architecture. The neighborhood is now closely built up, but when I was an inmate of the house, in 1861-62, the surroundings and outlook were most attractive. The fertile Bowman, Bennett, Beaumont and Conyngham farms extended from North street to near Mill Creek, and included most of the territory now known as East End, traversed by Kidder street, Washington street and other streets and extending to Scott street, beyond which it was mostly woodland.

In a beautiful pine grove bordering on the easterly side of Scott street was seen a large brick house, the home of Oliver B. Hillard, the largest private residence in Wilkes-Barre. Mr. Hillard was for many years a successful shipping merchant of Charleston, South Carolina, doing an extensive business, and was a man of large fortune. Upon the invitation of his friend, Colonel Bowman, he visited Wilkes-Barre in the year 1846, and was so very favorably impressed with the business opportunities here that he severed his relation with the South and brought his family to Wilkes-Barre. He soon made his mark here as a successful business man and was recognized as one of the most enterprising and progressive citizens of the Wyoming Valley.

Scott street has always been the direct road to Parsons borough, about three miles distant from the Public Square. I remember hearing Captain Calvin Parsons, for whom the borough was named, read a very interesting paper some thirty years ago before the Historical Society, wherein he recounted considerable early history and gave an account of the establishment by his father at an early date of a woolen mill on the waters of Laurel Run, at what is now Parsons, and the erection of their dwelling house and several other houses for employes of the mill. He stated that in his boyhood most of the land between Wilkes-Barre and

Parsons was virgin forest ; that panthers and wolves roamed about, and that on one occasion after his father had started on a business trip to Philadelphia his mother was awakened at the dead of night by the howling of the wolves in the immediate neighborhood of their house. In a good deal of alarm she aroused her children, but fortunately, for her peace of mind, one of her neighbors, an employe in the mill, arrived with his loaded rifle. He advised the building of a large fire in the fireplace. This was quickly done. The outer doors were thrown open and in the firelight of the blazing logs could be distinctly seen numerous wolves and their flashing eyes among the trees. They soon scampered off, to everybody's relief.

It is interesting to consider that in the span of the life of one man, well known to many of us and living not many years ago, there could have come such differing conditions of life in this immediate neighborhood—the comforts and conveniences and safety of these modern days as contrasted with the lack of most of these ; the hardships and the lurking dangers of his early youth.

At the easterly corner of Union and Franklin streets, in a large white house, replaced by the syndicate block of brick dwellings, lived Thomas Burnside, a native of Ireland, who succeeded Judge Gibson on the bench of this county in 1816 and served as president judge two years.

He was in 1845 appointed to the Supreme Court of the State and remained on the bench of that court for six years and obtained the reputation of a judge of strong common sense and substantial legal acquirements.

Judge Burnside was a man of sturdy character and strong mentality, but was also notably careless in his dress, and extremely plain of countenance, with a great beak of a nose. It was said of him that he was so homely that he had to rise from his bed every night at midnight to rest his face. He was, nevertheless, personally popular with all

classes—with men and women as well. Judge Burnside's home was in Bellefonte, Centre county, to which place he returned on leaving Wilkes-Barre in 1818. In the same town lived Judge Huston, who was on the bench of the Supreme Court for some twenty years—the immediate predecessor of Judge Burnside in the same court. Judge Huston, unlike Judge Burnside, was a man most precise in manner and dress and careful of his appearance.

These two judges married sisters. Although they were of the same profession, and both served in judicial office, and were neighbors and brothers-in-law, yet for some unknown reason they cordially disliked each other, and for some years were not even on speaking terms. It is related that Judge Burnside became alarmingly ill, and it being his first experience of that kind, like many men under similar circumstances he was himself convinced, and he convinced his family, that he could not recover. A conference of the two families was held, and it was felt by all that it would be a most regrettable state of affairs if the enmity between the two judges should continue until they were separated by death. The two sisters labored to persuade their respective husbands, the one to make and the other to receive advancements looking to a reconciliation. It was finally arranged, and the dignified and precise Judge Huston made his call at the sick room of Judge Burnside, one of the plain—indeed, very plain—people. All left the room except a son of Judge Burnside, who remained and later reported the result of the meeting. Judge Huston approached the bedside and in rather a set tone formally greeted Judge Burnside, who in view of his near departure hastened to make confession and said:

“Judge Huston, I have been a very bad man and a very wicked man; I swear some and drink too much, and altogether am a very wicked man.”

Judge Huston was quick to respond and answered with marked promptness:

"Judge Burnside, you say truly that you have been a very bad man and a very wicked man." He got no further. He too readily assented to Judge Burnside's confessed declaration. The latter raised himself from the pillow, doubled his fist and shaking it in the face of Judge Huston, with emphasis exclaimed: "You are a damned old liar and I will live to fight you yet." He was as good as his word, and for some ten years more their enmity continued and the fight went merrily on.

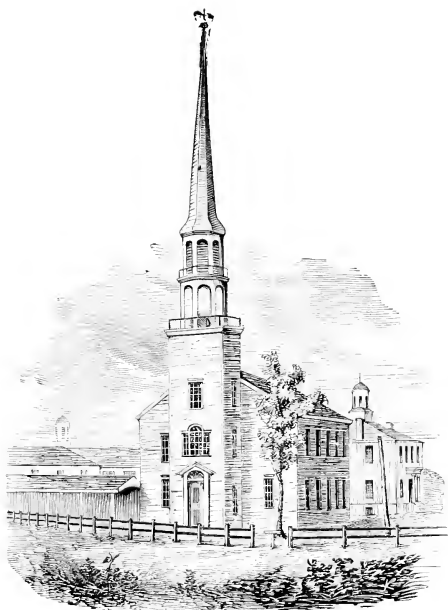
For some years, and, perhaps, for all the years between 1840 and 1850, the Burnside house, corner of Franklin and Union streets, was owned and occupied by Joseph P. Le Clerc, a nephew of the General Le Clerc, who was one of Napoleon's generals and the husband of Pauline Bonaparte.

XII.

The State canal, long since abandoned, extended from the waters of the Chesapeake to New York State, following the north branch of the Susquehanna river, and afforded for many years the principal facilities for the transportation of coal and freight. The canal passed through Wilkes-Barre just east of Canal street, now Pennsylvania avenue, and at a short distance above Union street turned practically at a right angle to the river.

Bridges, at considerable elevation, sufficient to clear the boats, crossed the canal at all street intersections.

The site of a large canal basin for the collection and storage of boats is now occupied by the court house and court house grounds at the head of the river common. The passenger station and station grounds of the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company occupy the site of another large canal basin, the immediate neighborhood of which was low and marshy grounds, later filled in with culm and mine refuse, especially between Canal street and Baltimore street. In excavating for the city sewer on Canal street, some thirty years ago, the workmen, at a depth of seven feet or more, uncovered a causeway or corduroy road of logs.



OLD SHIP ZION

This general survey of the old borough applies in the main to conditions as they were in the late forties and during the fifties, with few changes until after the Civil War.

Wilkes-Barre in some of its customs and modes of life, as well as in appearance, recalled to a certain extent the New England village of the time. Every night at nine o'clock for many years the bell in the steeple of "Old Ship Zion," on the Public Square, was rung by "Old Michael," the town constable and a town character, as a reminder both to young and old, but especially to the young, that it was time to be indoors; and after that hour very few, either young or old, were to be seen on the streets of the old town.

As a rule Sunday was strictly observed. Except for attendance at church and Sunday school, members of the family rarely left the home premises, and it was not considered good form to drive or walk abroad or make social calls on one's friends or neighbors. Sunday newspapers were unheard of and would not have been tolerated. All streets were unpaved and were either muddy or dusty the greater part of the year. Sidewalks were sadly lacking. There were some of stone flagging, but more of plank or coal ashes. The residents were dependent on wells for their water supply until 1860, in which year water was introduced from Laurel Run, and as a result bathrooms were soon after installed in many of the residences. Gas was first supplied in 1856.

As late as 1850, and, perhaps, somewhat later, the usual mode of travel to the cities of New York and Philadelphia was by the stage coach, which left the Phoenix Hotel at half past three o'clock in the morning, traveling over what is now called Giants Despair, thence on the old Easton and Wilkes-Barre turnpike (opened for travel in 1806) through Bear Creek and Stoddartsville, and over the Poconos, reaching Easton (weather and road conditions permitting) in time for supper. Next day passengers reached their destinations. A few years later railroad communications were established

and the stage became a thing of the past. Even so, at first and for a considerable time, one passenger train a day and a maximum speed of twenty miles an hour was the standard of railroad travel.

In this connection it may be stated that for some five or six months of the year, during the fifties, a pleasant mode of travel for persons bound down the river was by means of the packet boats on the canal, which operated daily between Wilkes-Barre and Northumberland and there made connection for Harrisburg. Three horses hitched tandem, and with relays every fifteen miles, were driven on a round trot and made the distance of sixty miles in a day.

Notwithstanding the lack of some of the conveniences of later days there was an indefinable something in the life of the old town that gave to it a charm all its own. So strong was the home tie that all who from force of circumstances were led to change their place of residence carried away with them an affection for the place and its people which neither time nor distance could displace. One's acquaintance took in a great part of the population, but the old families were in the ascendancy.

Their sons and their daughters were given the advantage of college or seminary training and the high reputation of Wilkes-Barre as an enlightened and cultivated community was ever fostered and maintained.

The distinguished editor of the Philadelphia "North American," on his return from a visit to Wilkes-Barre in 1858 fitly wrote:

"In beauty, fertility and mineral wealth; in the enterprise, refinement and intelligence of the inhabitants; in all that contributes to render a community happy, prosperous and respected, Wilkes-Barre and its environs are perhaps unequalled; and I have visited no place in the course of my wandering in which my sojourn was more pleasant and from which I brought away more favorable impressions."

XIII.

In September, 1860, I entered the law office of Samuel Sherrerd at Scranton, a town which had rapidly grown from a population of a few hundred to a population of over nine thousand.

At that time Lackawanna, Wyoming and Penn avenues were the principal highways of the town. Many of the lots on Penn avenue were quite thickly wooded. Lackawanna avenue was built up compactly on its northern side, but the lower side, from Adams avenue westerly, was vacant land. The hill part of Scranton, now a beautiful residential section, was farm land embracing the Hitchcock farm and other farms. The site of the court house was a bog pond and afforded good skating in winter. During my stay in Scranton I boarded at the Wyoming House, located on the northeast corner of Lackawanna and Wyoming avenues, which was a large brick structure erected in the early fifties, and was much superior in its appointments to any other hotel in the region. Prior to its demolition, about the year 1896, it had a well established and well deserved reputation for the character of the service rendered its patrons.

After some six months in Mr. Sherrerd's office, that is to say, March 5, 1861 (and being just about a month before the bombardment of Fort Sumter and the beginning of the Civil War), I came to Wilkes-Barre, then a town having a population of four thousand two hundred and fifty-six, and entered the office of the prothonotary of the county, David L. Patrick, where was already installed as a clerk, Henry W. Palmer. We served together until August, when Palmer married and opened a law office.

Meantime, because of the war, the business of the prothonotary's office was very much lessened, and the prothonotary retired to his farm in Abington and remained away until the late fall.

After Palmer's departure and until the November court I did the entire clerical work of the office. I kept all the dock-

ets, entered all judgments, issued all processes, made all searches, prepared all certified copies of the records, although the county of Luzerne then embraced the present county of Lackawanna. The office hours were not limited to eight hours but were from eight o'clock in the morning until nine o'clock at night, and the pay at first was seventy-five cents per day, which a little later was increased to one dollar. The pay was small, but truth requires me to say that board was only three dollars per week.

The experience was a most valuable one and gave me an early knowledge of practice which otherwise I would have been long in acquiring.

About December 1, 1861, I left the prothonotary's office and went to Albany, New York, and entered the Albany Law School, which was one of the first law schools of the country and reckoned a faculty of commanding ability, including the Hon. Ira Harris, formerly a justice of the Supreme Court, at the time United States Senator from New York; the Hon. Amasa J. Parker, who also had been a judge and was one of the most prominent lawyers of the State; Amos Dean, who was a distinguished lawyer and a law author of high reputation.

Among my classmates at Albany was William H. Holt, who became chief justice of Kentucky, a State of which it used to be said that the corn was full of kernels and the colonels full of corn. Another classmate was Joseph H. Manley of Maine, who became very prominent in national politics, was a member of the Republican national committee and Blaine's political manager.

In the winter of 1862 it was my good fortune to hear argued, in part, before the Court of Appeals of New York, sitting at Albany, the Parish will case, which at the time attracted much attention on the part of the lawyers throughout the State. I cannot recall the questions involved nor do I suppose that I felt any special interest in them at the time, but what did interest me was the array of great lawyers of

national repute who took part in the argument—Charles O'Connor, William M. Evarts, John K. Porter, John W. Edmunds and Alexander S. Johnston. To listen to them was in itself an education. Never since have I witnessed a combination of equal legal talent, except in the cases against the Atlantic and Great Western Railroad argued before the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania at its session at Wilkes-Barre, in June, 1866, as hereafter related in this paper.

During my sojourn in Albany, say in January and February, 1862, when our Civil War had been less than a year in progress, I was fortunate in hearing several noted speakers discuss war topics, the most distinguished of whom was Edward Everett. He was touring the principal cities of the country in an effort to stimulate public sentiment in favor of a hearty support of the Lincoln administration and a vigorous prosecution of the war, just as now frequent oratorical appeals are made in behalf of an active and zealous support of the government in the present war with Germany. After more than fifty-five years I can remember little more than the impression made upon his audience by his wealth of diction and his oratorical power, but I can distinctly recall the closing sentences of his peroration wherein he appealed to all to :

“Come with heart and hand, come with sword and gun ;
Come as the winds come when forests are rended ;
Come as the waves come when navies are stranded ;
Come old men and matrons, come young men and maidens,
Come one, come all.”

Delivered with great fervor, the effect was electric and fairly carried the audience off its feet.

XIV.

I remained in Albany until May, 1862, and was on May 6, upon examination in open court, admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of the State of New York. After leaving

Albany I returned to Wilkes-Barre and entered the law office of Stanley Woodward, who later became judge.

Upon examination and on motion of Mr. Woodward I was admitted to the bar of Luzerne county on November 10, 1862, and opened a law office on Franklin street, below Market, in the one-story brick row of four offices then newly erected, and the serious problem that confronted me for a considerable time was to earn and collect sufficient fees to meet the demand for office rent and board.

All the law offices of that day and for years thereafter were very plain affairs and for the most part in one-story buildings, generally of frame and having no more than two rooms—not a picture on the walls, not a carpet or even matting on the floor, equipped with one or sometimes two cast-iron stoves, one or two wooden spittoons filled with ashes or sawdust, a cheap table with some pigeon holes, and cheap chairs and cheap bookcases to accommodate a few textbooks and the ninety-five volumes of State Reports—all that were then issued. In fact, any room and any furniture were considered good enough for a law office. When it is considered that nearly half the waking hours of the busy lawyer are spent in his office, there is every reason why it should correspond somewhat to the character of his home. The modern law office in the modern office building fairly meets this requirement.

The routine work in the law office of the former days differed very materially from the present time. There were no stenographers and typewriters; all letters, all deeds, bonds and mortgages, all papers connected with litigation, including praecipes, declarations, pleas, affidavits, and briefs were laboriously written out in long hand, and oftentimes copies as well.

At the time of my admission and for some years later there were but four terms of court, namely, in the months of January, April, August and November, and were presided

ever by Hon. John N. Conyngham, who was at the time the only law judge in the county, and whose distinguished judicial career covered a period of about thirty years. As part of the court, and associated with the president judge, were two laymen known as associate judges. The office of associate judge was considered a highly honorable one and was bestowed on substantial business men of high character and of prominence in the community by appointment of the governor until 1851, and thereafter by popular election. The term of office of the last associate judge in this county expired in 1876.

The duties of associate judges were not arduous, the usual function being to keep silent and look wise, but on occasion they took part in the routine business of the court, such as the granting of liquor licenses, the laying out and vacating of roads, the various appointments of the court, and all other matters requiring the exercise of good business judgment rather than legal acumen. Nevertheless, the two associates, when acting together, were clothed with large judicial powers, even to the overruling of the president judge--which power they almost never exercised; but I recall two rotatable instances, one happening before my time, where Judge Conyngham, for rather technical reasons, was in favor of granting a new trial to one convicted of a felony, but the associates insisted that the conviction was a righteous one, and, brushing all technical difficulties aside, overruled the president judge and sentenced the prisoner to the State penitentiary.

The other instance was many years later and of which I was a witness, when the two associates in open court and without any intimation, and to the great surprise and indignation of President Judge Harding, revoked his appointment of a commissioner to take testimony in a contested election case and substituted an appointee of their own selection. The court room was filled at the time. The action of the associate judges was wholly unexpected and created

great excitement. Judge Harding was greatly angered and delivered himself in vigorous English from the bench in his comments on the conduct of his associates.

XV.

At the present day the business of this populous county is so great that our courts, composed of six law judges, are in almost continuous session, and a term of court is therefore a commonplace affair; but up to say 1865 there were but four terms of court in the year and these usually of short duration. There were few public entertainments of any kind, and the sitting of court was a notable event in the life of the town, and the sessions of the criminal court especially were often attended by citizens who came to hear the lawyers talk. It was an occasion made something of a social affair when some especially interesting case was on trial and ladies availed themselves of the opportunity to attend. Forensic oratory was in favor and quite the fashion, and it is safe to assume that on such occasions the lawyers, rather flattered by the attendance, often addressed themselves about as much to their appreciative audience as to the court and jury.

In the diary of a young Philadelphian (in part recently read before our Historical Society) who visited Wilkes-Barre in August, 1840, he says:

"I should like to remain here another day, as the ladies were telling me that there will be a general turnout of the Wilkes-Barre girls to-morrow—they having determined to visit the court 'en masse' to hear a lawyer of the name of Woodward address the jury in behalf of four men on trial for murder."

The Woodward referred to was George W. Woodward, at the time a young lawyer thirty-one years of age. He had already achieved distinction at the bar, and when only twenty-eight years of age, as senatorial delegate representing several counties, including Luzerne, had taken a leading

part in the convention of 1837-38 that framed the Constitution of the State.

In 1845, while he was the president judge of the Fourth Judicial District, he headed a delegation of Pennsylvanians that called on President Polk and acted as spokesman. There happened at the time to be a vacancy on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States and President Polk was so impressed by Judge Woodward, who was then only thirty-six years old, that the President of his own motion sent in Judge Woodward's name to the Senate to fill the vacancy on the Supreme bench. Confirmation was defeated by Judge Woodward's unrelenting political enemy, Senator Simon Cameron.

It is fair to say that notwithstanding Senator Cameron's strong political animosity he maintained for Judge Woodward great personal respect and on the occasion of the latter's funeral the Senator made the journey from Washington to Wilkes-Barre in order to be present.

When less than forty-four years of age Judge Woodward became a member of the Supreme Court of this State, where he served for fifteen years and retired in 1867 as chief justice of Pennsylvania.

He was the father of the late Judge Stanley Woodward and grandfather of the present Judge J. Butler Woodward.

When I came to the bar the character of the litigation differed materially from that of the present day.

A proceeding in equity was of very rare occurrence. Chancery jurisdiction to a limited extent was first conferred on the Courts of Common Pleas throughout the State by Act of Assembly approved June 16, 1836. Some twenty years later the jurisdiction was enlarged and general chancery jurisdiction conferred on the courts by Act of February 14, 1857, but until the adoption in 1865 by our Supreme Court of the present equity rules—greatly simplifying, and, in fact, revolutionizing equity practice—a suit in equity was

so prolix, involved such technical structure of the bill, answer, and all pleadings, the framing of interrogatories and cross interrogatories, etc., the prolonged delays in reaching a final decree, and the large expense attendant upon the same, that such suit was almost never resorted to. To be a successful chancery solicitor required special study and training, such as was the privilege of very few lawyers or even judges, and the consequence was that a suit in equity found little favor with the court or with the members of the bar generally.

Litigation, therefore, was practically confined to the law side of the court, and at that time suits involving land titles, trespass to real estate, actions founded on contracts, commercial paper, claims on book accounts, etc., occupied the greater part of the time of the civil court; accident cases and suits growing out of the mining of coal (which now constitute so large a part of the business of the courts) were few in number. This change is doubtless due (1) to the fact that land titles are very generally well settled and a controversy about the same is most unusual; (2) because the system of credit in business is upon a different basis and claims growing out of the same are less open to dispute, and (3) due to the great increase in population and multiplied activities in railroad, mining, and manufacturing enterprises.

The bar of Luzerne county, as a whole, from early times, was known throughout the State and was recognized as of marked ability—the members ready and able to meet their adversaries in any forum.

This county contributed Justices George W. Woodward and Warren J. Woodward to the bench of the Supreme Court; Garrick Mallery, a very distinguished lawyer, to the bench of Berks and Northampton counties; Oristus Collins to the bench of Lancaster county; Luther Kidder to the bench of Schuylkill and Carbon counties; Winthrop W. Ketcham to the United States District Court for the West-

ern District of Pennsylvania; Charles E. Rice as president judge of the Superior Court, and Henry M. Hoyt to the governorship of Pennsylvania. The professional career of each of these eminent lawyers prior to his advancement was at the Luzerne bar.

At the time of my own admission the number of lawyers resident at the county seat did not exceed forty as against about three hundred at the present time, and of these forty I think I am safe in saying that not more than about one-half the number engaged actively in the trial of cases.

Of all these, Mr. Alexander Farnham alone survives.

XVI.

JUDGE JOHN N. CONYNGHAM was a native of Philadelphia and studied law in the office of that famous lawyer, Joseph R. Ingersoll. Very soon after his admission to the Philadelphia bar he came to Wilkes-Barre and was admitted to the bar of Luzerne county April 3, 1820, and was appointed to the bench in 1839. For more than twenty-five years he was the only law judge in this judicial district, and during all the time that he served on the bench he held a commanding position in the judiciary of the State. He was a man of striking appearance—tall, erect, of large stature and dignified bearing and looked every inch the judge. The judicial office was held in highest respect, and this respect extended in marked degree to the man who filled it. When Judge Conyngham walked from his home to the court house all whom he met on the way showed becoming deference. On the bench, his treatment of counsel, suitors and witnesses was always courteous and considerate and he brought to the discharge of his judicial duties great learning and unremitting industry.

While he bore himself with rather grave dignity, under it all he had a very tender heart. He showed great depression when engaged in the trial of a homicide case and at

such times was silent and uncommunicative even in his family. It is recalled then when passing sentence upon James Cadden, convicted of murder in the first degree and executed in March, 1849, Judge Conyngham showed much more emotion than the prisoner himself; the tears coursing down his cheeks as he pronounced the sentence of the law.

He was the acknowledged leader of the bar at the time of his elevation to the bench in 1839. Here he served until the summer of 1870, with the exception of the years 1850 and 1851, up to which time all judges were appointed by the governor of the State.

He was a Democrat in politics, but while on the bench took no active part in political controversies. Notwithstanding this neutral position, the Whig Governor, Johnson, refused to re-appoint him upon the expiration of his first term in 1849. Great indignation on the part of the bar and of the people of the county as well was felt because of the governor's action. A proposed amendment to the State Constitution making the judges elective was already pending.

Judge Conyngham and Andrew Beaumont were sent to the Assembly, and due to the arbitrary action of Governor Johnson, as well as to like action by the preceding governor in a similar case happening in the Indiana-Armstrong Judicial District, the proposed amendment was approved by the two houses of the Legislature and adopted by a vote of the people. In the fall of 1851 Judge Conyngham was triumphantly elected, practically without opposition, to again fill the position of president judge, and so continued, as already stated, until the summer of 1870, when he resigned.

Fifty years ago, that is to say, late in June, 1867, Judge Conyngham was kind enough to invite me to join him and Mrs. Conyngham, Miss Conyngham, afterwards the wife of Bishop Stevens, Miss Beaumont and Miss Woodward, later Mrs. E. A. Hancock, in a visit of a few weeks to the Adirondacks. After four days' travel, including one day's drive of

fifty miles from Lake Champlain, we arrived at Paul Smith's, on the lower St. Regis Lake, on either the fifth or sixth day of July, where we remained between two and three weeks. During this month of July, 1867, we were the only guests at Paul Smith's, and not another human habitation was to be found on any of the neighboring lakes, other than guides' houses and cabins for huntsmen. Now and for many years Paul Smith's and the whole Adirondack region have been thronged with thousands of summer visitors.

By the way, Smith's name was originally not Paul, but "Apollo" (although he was anything rather than an Apollo in appearance). This name the natives corrupted into "Pol" and later the patrons of his house improved upon it by substituting "Paul", and Paul it has been these many years.

Almost every day during our stay at Paul Smith's I accompanied the judge on short fishing excursions. Trout were abundant within a mile of the house in all the streams entering the lake, and in a very short time we would return with well-filled baskets. The judge was most friendly and companionable and even intimately communicative. He told me much of his early life; of his early contemporaries at the bar and I remember particularly his saying that Rosewell Welles and John Evans were men of marvelous eloquence. He also told me of the reasons that led him to leave his native Philadelphia and come to Wilkes-Barre. He stated that the Philadelphia Bank had for some years maintained a branch here, but had concluded to discontinue it, and that very soon after his admission the bank engaged him to come here to collect all outstanding claims and close up the business; that it took considerably more time than was contemplated, and that soon a year or more had elapsed; that meantime he had formed friendships here and extended his acquaintanceship, but more than all he had become interested in Miss Butler, whom he later married; that these combined influences induced him to remain here and cast in his

lot with this community. And here he remained so long as he lived.

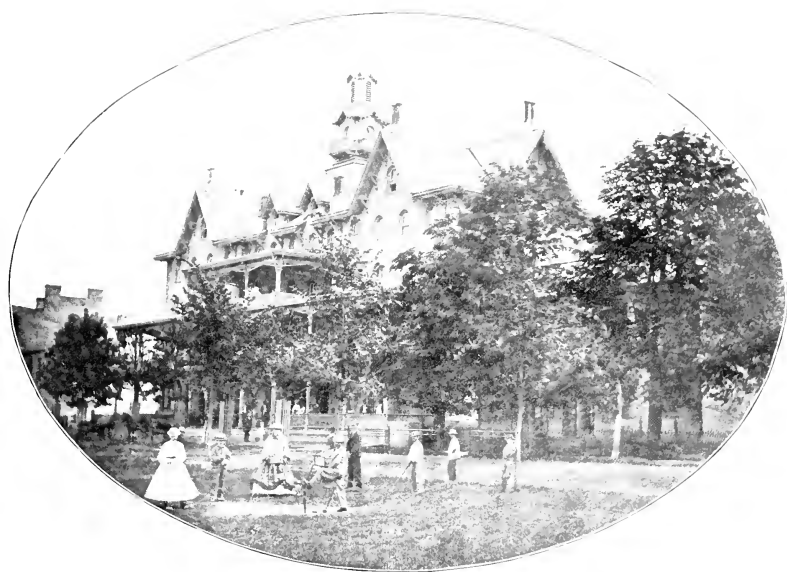
On several occasions before the Adirondack visit Judge Conyngham manifested friendship for me, but the daily contact during those few weeks in July, 1867, led to a certain degree of intimacy—that is, such intimacy as is possible between a young man and one more than forty years his senior. After he retired from the bench I represented him, at his request, in several confidential business matters rather closely affecting his own and his family's interests.

Upon Judge Conyngham's retirement from the bench, when near seventy-two years of age, the bar tendered him a dinner, August 4, 1870, at the Wyoming Valley Hotel, very largely attended, and at the same time they presented him a silver service in recognition of the esteem and affection in which he was universally held.

In February, 1871, Judge Conyngham left home to visit his son, Lieutenant Colonel John B. Conyngham, who was ill at an army post in Texas. On his way there he was fatally injured in a railroad accident and died the same night in a small town in Mississippi.

When the news of his death reached here a hush fell on the whole town. The community was stirred and shocked as never before by the death of any citizen. He was universally mourned and lamented, and on the occasion of his funeral thousands came from far and near, filling the church and the adjacent street and lining the sidewalks leading to the cemetery more than a mile away.

NOTE.—I have recently come across a copy of the menu of the lavish dinner served by the management of the Wyoming Valley Hotel August 4, 1870, upon the occasion of the retirement of Judge Conyngham from the bench, and in view of the rather restricted diet of all functions in these present war days, I here insert it for the contemplation of those who sigh for the old days of peace and plenty:



WYOMING VALLEY HOTEL, FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN 1868.

(From Oscar J. Harvey's "History of Wilkes-Barre and Wyoming Valley.")

MENU.

Soups—Green turtle and vermicelli a l'Italienne.

Fish—Boiled lake trout with lobster sauce and baked salmon with wine sauce.

Boiled—Turkeys with egg sauce, chickens with giblet sauce, leg of mutton with caper sauce, sugar cured hams, beef tongues, pressed corn beef, beef a la mode.

Entrees—Compotes of pigeons garnished with olives, sweetbreads with tomato sauce, tenderloin of beef garnished with mushrooms, frogs a l'Anglaise, ducks garnished with turnips, broiled spring chickens a la maitre d'hotel, lamb chops breaded, soft shell crabs with cream dressing.

Roasts—Turkeys with cranberry sauce, spring chickens, spring ducks, green goose with apple sauce, ribs of beef, shoulder of veal stuffed; spring lamb with mint sauce.

Game—Prairie grouse, snipe, lake plover, prairie partridge, reed birds on toast, wild ducks with current jelly.

Relishes—Olives, cucumbers, gherkins, tomatoes, sardines, pickled oysters.

Vegetables—Potatoes, beans, cabbage, beets, corn, hominy, egg plant, squash, onions, rice, tomatoes.

Pastry—Pumpkin, custard, blackberry and apple pie, marble, fruit, citron, pound, lady and currant cake, champagne, orange and current jelly.

Desert—Pyramids of macaroons, kisses and fruit, vanilla and pineapple ice cream, peaches, grapes, pineapples, apples, watermelon, pecan nuts, walnuts, filberts, almonds, raisins, French coffee.

Wine—Champagne.

EX-JUDGE ORISTUS COLLINS (admitted April 8, 1819) was the oldest member of the bar. He was a striking figure, considerably above the average height, very erect, long white hair, deep-toned voice, and withal of venerable appearance. He was already fully seventy-two years of age, and came rarely into court, but for a year or two more he occasionally took part in the trial of a case. He had returned to Wilkes-Barre in 1839 and resumed practice after serving over two years as president judge of the courts of Lancaster county. He was a man of resolute character and rather austere countenance, but had nevertheless a very decided vein of

humor. On one occasion, in the early days of the bar association, he remarked to Judge Conyngham in court "that he had just visited the law library and had painfully observed the absence of a volume which was the fountain of legal principles," whereupon he drew from its concealment a copy of the Bible and begged the Court's acceptance of it from him as a gift to the library then being formed.

Judge Collins was for some fifty years a ruling elder in the First Presbyterian Church of Wilkes-Barre and a rather extreme Calvinist in his religious faith, with little tolerance for Catholicism. He was of the spirit, if not of the blood, of the old Scotch Covenanter who, in his daily prayers, besought the Lord for "the downfall of pope and prelacy."

At a mid-week church service as early as 1864 (during the pastorate of Rev. Dr. Archibald Alexander Hodge, who later became the distinguished theological professor at Princeton), Dr. Hodge in his discourse stated that "the Catholic system of religion is one of the most logical systems of religion the world has ever known." The venerable old elder would not allow this statement to go unchallenged and immediately arose, and in his deep and impressive tone of voice, said: "I would like to know what you mean by a statement like that." Dr. Hodge promptly accepted the challenge and said: "If you allow the premises, which I do not, but if you allow the premises everything else in the system of the Catholic religion will logically follow. It is a system of religion absolutely consistent with itself, and it is therefore a logical system." He further elaborated this idea for some five minutes, meanwhile Judge Collins standing and the congregation awaiting the outcome with great interest. At its conclusion Judge Collins said: "the explanation is satisfactory," and took his seat, whereupon the regular services were resumed. This incident made something of a sensation and created some discussion among us after the services were concluded. Judge Collins lived to the advanced age of ninety-two years.

HENDRICK B. WRIGHT (admitted November 8, 1831) rounded out a half century at the Luzerne bar and was especially successful before the jury.

In the latter years of his life he came rather infrequently into court, but when he did come he brought with him all his old time vigor and aggressive eloquence, and was on all occasions a most formidable antagonist.

He was a man of particularly fine presence and address; had exceptional power as a public speaker, and his sway over the jury was phenomenal.

In the trial of a case he was ready and resourceful, seemed never disconcerted, and generally found a way to meet the unexpected happenings that so frequently develop in the progress of a law suit.

On one occasion, at the conclusion of the evidence in the case on trial, opposing counsel submitted points of law which he requested the Court to embody in the charge to the jury. The judge asked Colonel Wright if he desired to submit any points, whereupon he answered, with almost dramatic manner, "Points, your Honor, points, what care I for points? These twelve honest men in the jury box are my points,"—and so they proved.

In a suit involving the title to a valuable triangular piece of land, the controversy resolved itself into a contest between one line run by a transit and another by a compass. Colonel Wright, for the defendant, contended for the correctness of the line established by the compass. The jury was composed mostly of farmers beyond middle life, somewhat familiar with the compass in the survey of their own farms, but with little, if any, knowledge of a transit. The Colonel was quick to see in this his advantage, and in his address to the jury he made his chief attack on the transit. Among other things he said: "And then the plaintiff put on the stand a dapper young man who admitted that he surveyed the disputed line with a transit. In God's name, who ever heard of a transit! A compass was good enough to

survey your father's farm and mine, but some day a smart young man will appear with a *transit* and attempt to rob you of your land. Moreover, the compass and *not* the transit is mentioned in Holy Writ. Let me read you from the account of Paul's journey to Rome in the last chapter of the Acts of the Apostles: 'And landing at Syracuse we tarried three days and from thence we fetched a *compass* and came to Rhegium.' "

After that it was idle for plaintiff's counsel to argue that the transit was the more accurate instrument. The jury was persuaded that a transit was an infernal instrument designed to rob one of his land, and being of an orthodox turn of mind the members of the jury were further influenced by the fact that the compass was recognized by the Bible, and they promptly returned a verdict for the defendant.

Of course, so far as the argument was founded on the scripture account, it ignored the fact that it could not possibly have been a land compass that was referred to, nor yet a mariner's compass—which had not then been invented. Obviously the word compass was used in the sense of *encompass*, as though the passage read "we fetched (or made) a circuit," etc.

However, the biblical account served Colonel Wright's purpose, and illustrates his readiness in the use of any available weapon.

He had a great power of ridicule, a great fund of humor, and a contagious laugh in which the jury often joined, pre-saging danger to his opponent.

It was often remarked by Judge Stanley Woodward, who had been a number of times opposed to him, that Colonel Wright laughed more cases out of court than the average lawyer won after most careful preparation.

It was declared that he never lost a cause that he deserved to win, and I think it may be added that he sometimes won when he deserved to lose.

In the years 1841-42 and '43 Colonel Wright represented this county in the Legislature, and in his last year was Speaker of the House.

In the years 1852-61-76 and '78 he was elected to Congress, where he at once took a prominent position.

In 1844 he presided over the National Convention at Baltimore that nominated James K. Polk for the presidency.

I think that what may be reckoned Colonel Wright's greatest public service and a service to his everlasting honor was the legislative session of 1841, when as one of the leaders of the House he stood by Governor Porter and successfully fought the attempt to repudiate the payment of interest on the State debt. Due largely to his efforts the public credit was preserved and the State saved from disgrace.

VOLNEY L. MAXWELL (admitted November 11, 1831) was distinctively an office lawyer and appeared in court occasionally to make a motion or present some application, but only once after my admission do I remember his engaging in the trial of a case. He was Judge Conyngham's law partner at the time of the latter's appointment to the bench. Mr. Maxwell had a substantial clientage and was most careful and painstaking in his practice.

He had a quiet humor, so quiet, however, that it often lay dormant for some twenty-four hours, that is to say, if you told him a joke the chances were that he would show no appreciation of it at the time, but if you happened to meet him next day you might find him convulsed with laughter over the joke of the day before.

Mr. Maxwell was a man of high standing among his fellow men and commanded their respect and esteem.

CALEB E. WRIGHT (admitted August 9, 1833), almost immediately after his admission here, settled in Doylestown, Bucks county. He was appointed by Governor Wolf district attorney of Bucks county, and remained at the bar of

that county until 1853, when he returned to Wilkes-Barre. He very soon acquired a lucrative practice here and was active in the courts. Mr. Wright was a ready speaker, very self-contained and apt at repartee. He was counted among the successful lawyers at the bar. He was one of the representatives of Luzerne county in the State Constitutional Convention of 1873. Mr. Wright was the author of several works of fiction of decided merit, mostly founded on local events. In the year 1876 he retired from the practice of law and removed again to Doylestown, where he remained until his death.

ANDREW T. MCCLINTOCK (admitted August 8, 1836) gave more years to the continuous practice of law than any other member of the Luzerne bar.

Up to the age of seventy-five he appeared regularly in court, and for the remaining seven years of his life he rarely missed a day at his law office.

His practice was mostly as chief counsel for the principal corporations of the county. He brought to the practice of his profession a remarkably clear judgment and a profound knowledge of law, and he commanded the universal respect of the Court, his fellow-members of the bar and the community. At the time of my admission he was recognized as the leader of the bar. Mr. McClintock afforded an example to all young lawyers, inasmuch as he was never tempted from the assiduous pursuit of his profession by the offer of public office, or even of judicial preferment.

When, in 1867, an Act of Assembly gave to Luzerne county an additional law judge, lawyers and laymen alike and by a common instinct turned to Mr. McClintock and persistently urged him to accept the place. Members of the bar with absolute unanimity and leading business men in large numbers all pledged him their support. Nothing, however, could move him from his chosen path. While thanking his friends for their flattering support, he declared: "I am

averse to public life and greatly prefer the bar to the bench." In 1870 Princeton University conferred on Mr. McClintock the degree of Doctor of Laws.

Within a few years after the adoption of the present State Constitution many public men were convinced that in certain respects it needed careful revision, and the Legislature of 1877 authorized the appointment of a commission for the purpose.

The Governor, after full consideration and consultation with his advisers, appointed Mr. McClintock, together with Daniel Agnew, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Henry W. Williams, a Justice of the Supreme Court, Samuel E. Dimnick, Attorney General of the Commonwealth, Benjamin Harris Brewster, later Attorney General of the United States, and William H. Playford, a member of the State Senate, as such commission.

These men were all eminent lawyers, and Mr. McClintock was regarded as the peer of any one of them.

The work of the commission was well and most carefully performed, and in due time their report, embodying recommendations of certain changes, was submitted to the Legislature, but through some occult influence the report was quietly shelved and never acted on.

Mr. McClintock continued to pursue the even tenor of his way, and passed away in a green old age, most highly esteemed and respected by his fellow-lawyers and fellow-citizens.

CHARLES DENISON (admitted August 13, 1840) was a grandson of Colonel Nathan Denison. He had a large clientage, and his standing as a lawyer can be judged by the fact that he came within one vote of the nomination for president judge at a time when the nomination was sure to be followed by an election.

Mr. Denison never held or sought public office until 1862, when he was elected to Congress by the largest majority up to that time ever given to any candidate in Luzerne county.

He was re-elected in 1864 and 1866, and died in 1867 without taking his seat in pursuance of his last election. His three daughters were unusually attractive, and after his death they all married abroad, two in England and one in France.

LYMAN HAKES (admitted April 6, 1841) held a most distinguished place as counsel in the criminal courts. I venture to say that he had greater success in the defense of men charged with crime than any lawyer ever had at the Luzerne bar. His practice, however, was not confined to the criminal courts. He frequently appeared in the civil courts with a large measure of success, and was regarded as a strong lawyer and a formidable adversary in either forum. He was in no sense an orator, but he excelled in clear and logical statement, which impressed itself on the court and jury.

At the August term of court, 1861, one William Corwin, charged with the murder of his wife, was tried before Judge Conyngham and a jury. Mr. Hakes was the principal counsel for the defense. The case was well and thoroughly tried on both sides, lasted thirty-two days, and attracted very general attention here and elsewhere at the time. The exhausting efforts of the long trial told on Court, counsel and jury, and were followed by the death of one of the jurors. The district attorney in his address to the jury made the effort of his life. His argument, as well as that of Mr. Hakes for the defense, was taken down by a stenographer, and proved convincing to four members of the jury who voted for conviction; but finally, after long deliberation, the defendant was found not guilty.

The district attorney was persuaded to print in pamphlet form his address to the jury for distribution among his friends. Showing the same to Mr. Hakes, he generously offered to print Mr. Hakes' address also. Mr. Hakes answered that he did not care to print his address, but suggested that in lieu of it the district attorney should add by

way of postscript to his own printed address: "L. Hakes, attorney for defendant. Defendant was acquitted."

During the latter years of his life Mr. Hakes was completely broken down in health and was in the active practice of his profession something less than thirty years.

When I was yet a law student HENRY M. FULLER (admitted January 4, 1842) passed away at the very height of his career, when less than forty-one years of age. He was, without doubt, one of the most distinguished men of his time, and very early forged to the front.

Garrick M. Harding and, later, Alexander Farnham were students in his office, and the former became his law partner. Mr. Fuller early achieved distinction at the bar and few could approach him as a public speaker.

He had the same facility for work evinced by his son, Judge Fuller, and the ease and rapidity with which he dispatched the business of his law office was often remarked by his clients and his brethren of the bar.

Although a busy and successful lawyer, Mr. Fuller gave much attention to public affairs. A Whig in politics, he had great personal popularity with men of all parties, and in the year 1848, when only twenty-eight years of age, he was elected to the State Legislature, where he soon took a leading position and so impressed himself on that body and on the public that the very next year he was made the nominee of his party for the office of canal commissioner, then the most important State office next to Governor.

In 1850, when thirty years of age, and again in 1854, he was elected to Congress in a Democratic district at a time when that office conferred marked distinction on one who held it.

His election in 1850 was contested, and a majority of the Congressional Committee on Privileges and Elections being politically opposed to him, reported in favor of unseating him, but upon the report coming before the House it was

attacked on both side of the chamber—the attack being led by William H. Polk, of Tennessee, a leading Democrat and brother of President Polk—with the result that the report of the committee was reversed and Mr. Fuller made secure in his seat.

He had great personal charm, and it is safe to say that no man of his time so engaged the affections of the people as did Henry M. Fuller.

EDMUND L. DANA (admitted April 6, 1841) distinguished as soldier, lawyer and judge, was generally considered the most scholarly member of the bar. He was of marked artistic and literary tastes, and his legal and judicial opinions were expressed in model English. I have at times observed him engrossed in reading his Greek testament, from which I understand he was seldom, if ever, parted. He was rather reserved in manner, had few intimates, and lacked any decided sense of humor.

Nevertheless, his extensive reading in literature, as well as law, his broad culture and general intelligence, were such that he was at all times a most interesting companion.

He was a learned lawyer, and his cases were carefully prepared for trial and clearly presented. His professional career was twice interrupted by events of national importance. At the time of this country's war with Mexico he was captain of the Wyoming Artillerists—the leading military organization of the Wyoming Valley—and with his company served some two years in Mexico under Major General Winfield Scott. Again his military services were in demand during the Civil War between the States, when as Colonel he commanded the One Hundred and Forty-third Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers. Colonel Dana and his regiment were in numerous engagements during the war, and at the battle of Gettysburg he was in command of a brigade. For distinguished gallantry in action he was brevetted a brigadier general.

At the conclusion of the war General Dana resumed the practice of his profession. The Legislature, at its session in 1867, provided an additional law judge for Luzerne county, and in the fall of that year General Dana was elected judge and served as such most acceptably for the term of ten years. Upon the expiration of his judicial term he had practically the unanimous endorsement of the bar for re-election and received the nomination of both the Democratic and Republican parties. His re-election seemed so absolutely assured that ten thousand voters deemed it unnecessary to go to the polls, with the result that, to the surprise of his supporters, he met with defeat, due to the over-confidence of his friends, and to the fact that the labor organizations had quietly mustered their forces in sufficient numbers to elect their candidate, who in less than two years was forced to resign.

After his retirement to private life Judge Dana occasionally but very rarely appeared in court.

LAZARUS D. SHOEMAKER (admitted August 1, 1842) was to the manner born, both grandsires being among the early settlers and both among those who took part in the battle of July 3, 1778, in which battle Mr. Shoemaker's grandfather, Lieutenant Elijah Shoemaker, lost his life, and his grandfather, Colonel Nathan Denison, was in command of the left wing of the patriot forces.

For a number of years after his admission Mr. Shoemaker was actively engaged in the practice of his profession, but when I knew him the lure of politics and of very successful business ventures was such that the practice of law became a matter of secondary importance with him, and in my time he very seldom came into court. In fact, I do not recall more than two or three occasions when he took part in the trial of a case. He was, however, a prominent citizen and an important factor in the affairs of the community. He had unusual business qualities, and for many

years was president of the Second National Bank, one of the largest financial institutions of the region. Mr. Shoemaker had rare tact, a very decided vein of dry humor, and was a man of popular manners. As a consequence, he made friends on all sides and with men of all political parties. In the face of what was ordinarily an adverse political majority, he was elected to the State Senate in 1866 and to Congress in 1870, and again in 1872.

MILTON DANA (admitted November 6, 1846) was in a measure overshadowed by his more distinguished brother, Judge Edmund L. Dana. Some few years after his admission to the bar he located in the city of San Antonio, Texas. He remained there until the outbreak of the Civil War, when he deemed it prudent to again seek the scenes of his childhood, and returned to Wilkes-Barre, but did not again engage very actively in the practice of law.

In giving some of his experiences with Southern clients, Mr. Dana was wont to relate with glee that soon after opening his office in San Antonio he was called on by one of the citizens of the town, whose desire for gain outweighed any sentimental considerations. The client introduced himself and then remarked: "I believe you are a lawyer from the North; I came originally from the North myself, and when I have any legal business I prefer to consult a Northern lawyer. Sometime ago I married a Southern woman and some four months after marriage she gave birth to a nigger baby and I have come to consult you."

Dana gravely and impressively answered: "You are clearly entitled to a divorce, sir, and I will undertake to secure one without delay." The client in some alarm was quick to respond: "H——ll, young man, I don't want a divorce; I want to know whether I can sell the nigger."

GEORGE BYRON NICHOLSON (admitted November 10, 1848) was a unique figure at the Luzerne bar and one of the brightest legal lights of his day.

He was a past master in the art of special pleading, when special pleading, as known to the legal profession of the time, was a most effective weapon at the command of the acute lawyer; inasmuch as amendments were not allowed and counsel were obliged to stand or fall on the record as made up. Before the statute permitting amendments, it often happened that his opponent was defeated before he had fairly begun.

In passing, I take occasion to say that to my mind the old practice had its advantages. It tended to make more careful, better trained, and, therefore, better lawyers, and very often to shorten trials by narrowing the issue under the pleadings.

Mr. Nicholson had a large clientage, and his advice was much sought in business matters of importance.

During the sessions of the Civil Court he was in almost continuous attendance, and I venture to think that he tried more cases than any lawyer of his time. He had a large reputation and large success as a trial lawyer, and this is the more remarkable because of the fact that at the conclusion of the evidence he was never known, I believe, to argue his case to the court or to the jury—that duty being performed by some other lawyer of ready speech, whom he associated with himself for that purpose alone.

Mr. Nicholson prepared his cases with great care, was an expert in the examination and cross examination of witnesses, and at the close of the case submitted to Court, in especially clear and concise and cogent language, his propositions of law, with the citation of authorities in their support. Then his duties ended, and an associate, who up to this time had taken no part whatever in the trial of the case, addressed the Court and jury.

Mr. Nicholson died in February, 1873, in the forty-seventh year of his age.

ASA R. BRUNDAGE (admitted April 2, 1849) was barely twenty-one years old at the time of his admission. He was a ready and fluent speaker, enthusiastic in the practice of his profession, and early met with success at the bar. He soon succeeded in securing clients, most of whom were residents of the Conyngham Valley, where he was born, and he built up a lucrative practice. In a little more than six years after his admission he was elected district attorney, in which office he served with credit. While yet in the prime of life he practically retired from any active participation in the trial of cases and confined himself to the work of his office, where he could usually be found during business hours.

GARRICK M. HARDING (admitted August 5, 1850) was a conspicuous figure in both the civil and criminal courts of the county.

Upon his admission he became the law partner of his preceptor, Hon. Henry M. Fuller, and the partnership continued so long as Mr. Fuller remained at the bar. Mr. Harding had abundant humor, decided ability as a lawyer, and very unusual gifts as a ready and forceful speaker. He at once entered upon a successful career at the bar, and until he went on the bench had a large and lucrative practice. In 1858 he was elected district attorney, and during his incumbency of the office the interests of the Commonwealth were faithfully and ably cared for.

In July, 1870, Judge Conyngham resigned from the bench and Mr. Harding was at first appointed, and a few months later elected, president judge to fill the vacancy.

Judge Harding displayed ability on the bench, and during the general strike of 1877 he manifested marked courage in dealing with the labor situation. In scathing language from the bench he denounced lawless conduct and warned guilty parties of the consequences sure to follow.

About a year before the expiration of his term Judge Harding resigned and re-opened his law office. He there-

after, however, spent much of his time on his farm, and gradually withdrew from the practice of his profession.

Judge Harding was a noted sportsman. Forest and stream beckoned him with almost compelling force, and when his professional or his judicial duties were not exacting and the game laws permitted, he was apt to be found pursuing his favorite pastime, which called forth the witticism of that eminent lawyer, Franklin B. Gowen, that "Harding is one of those lawyers who fish and hunt for a living and practice law for fun."

WINTHROP W. KETCHAM (admitted August 8, 1850) was decidedly a self-made man. Neither family nor fortune contributed to his success. By his own unaided efforts he acquired a liberal education and passed a successful examination for admission to the bar. Through sheer ability and force of character he won his way, gathered clients, and had every promise of a most successful career at the bar, but unfortunately, as he himself told me, he was tempted right in the midst of a growing practice to accept, in the year 1855, the Republican nomination for the very lucrative office of prothonotary, to which office he was elected in the face of a usual Democratic majority—all other candidates with him on the ticket being defeated. His incumbency of the office of prothonotary was unfortunate, because it separated him from his profession and introduced him into politics, and he was thereafter an important political factor in his county and in the State.

Upon the expiration of his term as prothonotary, in the year 1858, he was elected to the Legislature, and in the following year to the State Senate, where he at once took a leading part. In 1864 he was appointed by President Lincoln solicitor of the Court of Claims, but because he differed from the policies of President Johnson he resigned in the following year. In 1869 and again in 1872 he had very strong support for Governor of the Commonwealth, but being a man of independent character and unready to

do any man's bidding he was unacceptable to the men in control of the State Republican organization, and they brought about his defeat. In 1874 he was elected to represent this district in the Federal Congress, and before the expiration of his term he was appointed United States District Judge for the Western District of Pennsylvania, and removed to Pittsburg, where he remained until his death. For some years we occupied adjoining offices, and, as a consequence, I saw much of him and found him, as all others found him, personally very attractive and a most congenial and agreeable companion. Of ready wit, large intelligence, broad mindedness and easily awakened sympathies, Judge Ketcham was a fine type of an American citizen. He met with fair success at the Luzerne bar, but he learned as others before him and since have learned that the law is a jealous mistress and demands the undivided attention of her votaries—or, in other words, that law and politics do not mix, especially so in the early years of one's professional career.

STEPHEN S. WINCHESTER was admitted to the Wyoming county bar in September, 1843, and during his residence in that county combined newspaper work with the practice of the law. He was appointed by the Governor prosecuting attorney for Wyoming county, and discharged the duties of the office for about three years. In 1853 he removed to Wilkes-Barre and opened a law office here, but for a time discharged the duties of editor of the "Luzerne Union". In 1855 he was elected district attorney of Luzerne county and so continued until the election of his successor three years later. In November, 1861, by reason of an interregnum in the office, because of a contested election proceeding, Judge Conyngham appointed Mr. Winchester acting district attorney, pending the settlement of the contest. He had a fair practice in the civil courts but a better one in the Quarter Sessions, for which his experience as the prosecuting attorney of Wyoming county and later of Luzerne

county especially fitted him. Mr. Winchester was a very genial and companionable man, much liked by his brethren of the bar, and commanded their respect and esteem.

CHARLES PIKE (admitted April 4, 1853) was a lawyer whose ability was at the outset recognized by his brethren of the bar. He had pronounced legal intuitions and would argue a proposition of law upon legal principles rather than upon the authority of decided cases.

A successful professional career opened before him, and soon after admission he was taken into partnership by the Hon. Hendrick B. Wright, which partnership lasted for several years, but his success was very much hindered by his over-indulgence in the cup that cheers and too oft inebriates. Nevertheless, a considerable number of his clients adhered to him. In his practice he always observed the proprieties of the profession and was intolerant of any breach on the part of others.

I recall one notable success that Mr. Pike achieved in the trial of a case, although it was evident at the time that he was laboring under the disadvantage of his unfortunate habit. The plaintiff, Arnold, was a litigious character of very unsavory reputation, and was a litigant at almost every sitting of the court. He brought numerous suits before a justice of the peace at Carbondale against residents of White Haven, in the lower end of the county, some fifty miles distant, and would sue residents of Carbondale before a White Haven justice. The means of travel between the two towns were inconvenient and attendance by a defendant meant the loss of two days' time. Arnold was careful to limit his claim in each instance to an amount that was less than the expense that would be incurred to appear and defend, with the result that defendants often suffered judgment by default as being cheaper than the loss of time and money incident to a contest.

In the case on trial Pike for the defense offered no evi-

dence, but relied wholly upon his cross examination of the plaintiff and his address to the jury, which took a wide latitude in its attack on Arnold, arraigning in caustic language his notorious conduct and closing with this bit of invective:

"When he dies they will bury him with his face downward toward hell; nothing green will grow over his grave; they will write with the finger in the sand, 'here lies a thing; he lived like a hog and died like a dog.'"

Arnold fairly winced under Pike's scathing arraignment, and the jury with little to support the verdict found in favor of the defendant. The effect of Pike's speech, together with the verdict, was to drive Arnold out of court; he abandoned all his pending suits and never again appeared as a litigant.

HENRY M. HOYT (admitted April 5, 1853) was big bodied and big brained, and a man of most attractive personality, who had a large following of personal friends devotedly attached to him. Intellectually he ranked with the best minds of his generation. He was a man of extensive reading, which embraced history, philosophy, science, higher mathematics, theology, etc., but as he told me himself, he had little time for fiction.

For nearly four years during the Civil War he served with distinction as lieutenant colonel and later as colonel of the 52nd Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers, and in recognition of his services was brevetted brigadier general.

After the war he resumed his law practice. He was a logical but not a fluent speaker. Among his clients he numbered some of the leading corporations and financial institutions of the county. In 1867 he served on the bench for six months, associated with Judge Conyngham as additional law judge under appointment by the Governor. Although his term as judge was short, it was sufficiently long to demonstrate Judge Hoyt's special fitness for judicial office.

In November, 1878, he was elected, and on January 14, 1879, was inaugurated, Governor of Pennsylvania for the

term of four years. During his term of office he was recognized throughout the State as a man of very unusual ability, and by most was considered the brainiest Governor in the history of the Commonwealth. His official papers and veto messages were models of their kind, and no bill was ever passed by the Legislature over his veto.

While Governor he prepared and read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania a paper entitled "A Brief of Title in the Seventeen Townships—A Syllabus of the Controversy between Connecticut and Pennsylvania". In this he analyzed the respective claims of Connecticut and Pennsylvania to that portion of the latter State north of the forty-first parallel of latitude, and reviewed the later legislation of Pennsylvania settling the land titles within the seventeen townships.

The paper was listened to with great interest by the leading members of the Philadelphia bar in attendance at the meeting, and firmly established in their estimation the Governor's standing as a lawyer. The paper was later somewhat enlarged, and was published by the Society. It is now one of the required subjects in the curriculum of studies of those seeking admission to the Luzerne bar.

SAMUEL P. LONGSTREET (admitted August 6, 1855) prepared his cases with great care and industry, and early met with a large measure of success in the practice of his profession. He represented neither corporations nor financial institutions, but his clients were mostly from the commercial class. However, they were numerous, and his professional income, I venture to think, was very considerably in excess of the average income of the lawyers of his time, especially of those whose length of service in the profession was about the same as his own.

I came to know him very well as early as 1862, and about that time he invited me to take a place in his office, but I had already made other arrangements. In that connection he told me that his fees for the preceding two years had

amounted to as much as four thousand dollars each year, the equivalent of the salary of the president judge then and for thirty years more. He was a man of slight build, quite plain in appearance, and had a rather unattractive manner.

When I first knew him he was much given to profanity, but during a season of protracted religious services in the Methodist Episcopal Church Mr. Longstreet made a profession of religion and united with the church, of which he was thereafter a consistent member.

For somewhat less than eleven years Mr. Longstreet remained at the Luzerne bar, of which he was one of the leading members. In 1864 he abandoned the law and engaged in the coal trade, and in connection with that business settled in Erie. The coal business proved unsuccessful, and a little later he entered the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

For a time he occupied a pulpit in Salt Lake City and then again resumed the practice of law. Somewhat later, however, he returned to the ministry and became pastor of the Methodist Church in Helena, Mont., where he died in 1881.

EDWARD P. DARLING was born and reared in the county of Berks. He studied law in Reading in the office of Hon. William Strong, who a few years later was elected a judge of the Supreme Court of the State. Some years after retiring from the State court Judge Strong was appointed by President Grant one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Mr. Darling was admitted to the Berks county bar November 10, 1853, and to the bar of Luzerne county August 13, 1855. He was a lawyer of signal ability and ranked among the foremost men of the profession. His practice took a wide range, embracing real estate and commercial and corporation law. His clients included several of the largest financial institutions, trust companies, railroad and mining corporations and leading business men of the county. He was dis-

tinctively the business man's lawyer, and his professional work was mostly done in his office.

In the early years of his practice he appeared in court as occasion required, but he gradually withdrew from active participation in the trial of cases; the trials being generally conducted by his younger brother, J. Vaughn Darling, who excelled as a trial lawyer and who, after a few years' practice in Philadelphia, came here soon after my own admission and became a member of the law firm of E. P. and J. V. Darling.

Edward P. Darling, besides being an accomplished lawyer, was an exceptionally accomplished and cultivated man. In addition to his knowledge of the ancient languages he was familiar with French, German and Italian; had a wide acquaintance with the best literature, and was a musician of rare excellence. He had a fine tenor voice, and on occasions would delight his friends by his singing; playing on the piano his own accompaniments. Mr. Darling had attractive social qualities, but his health was not good, and during the later years of his life he mixed little with his friends, remaining rather strictly at home after the day's work at his office was over.

STANLEY WOODWARD (admitted August 4, 1856). In connection with his admission it is interesting to recall that in 1836 George W. Woodward moved the admission of Andrew T. McClintock. Twenty years later, in 1856, Andrew T. McClintock moved the admission of Judge Woodward's son, Stanley Woodward. After twenty years more, that is in 1876, Stanley Woodward moved the admission of Mr. McClintock's son, Andrew H. McClintock. In 1885 Andrew H. McClintock moved the admission of J. Butler Woodward, and in 1912 J. Butler Woodward moved the admission of Gilbert S. McClintock; thus this pleasant function descended from father to sons and grandsons, in the two families, in alternate succession.

Stanley Woodward was an able lawyer and at the same

time the most genial, agreeable and companionable of men. Of the qualities that made him such I can speak from personal knowledge, because, as already stated, I was a student in his office and was admitted to the bar on his motion. The close friendly relations then established were maintained as long as he lived.

He studied law in the office of his cousin, Warren J. Woodward, who was some fourteen years his senior and a lawyer of eminence, and who about a year after Stanley Woodward's admission was appointed president judge of the Twenty-sixth Judicial District. This was a fortunate circumstance for the subject of my sketch, inasmuch as practically at the outset of his professional career he succeeded to a large and well established law business. He inspired such confidence in his clients and achieved such success in their behalf that he was able to retain the great majority of the clients of the office and from time to time to add materially to their number. He was active in the trial of cases in the civil courts and to some extent in the criminal courts as well. While aggressive when engaged in a trial, he ever treated the Court with the utmost respect and his opponents with unfailing courtesy. He was ready at repartee and quite able to take care of himself in any passage at arms between counsel, and was a graceful and fluent and persuasive speaker.

After nearly twenty-four years active practice at the bar he was, about January 1, 1880, appointed by his close personal friend but political opponent, Governor Henry M. Hoyt, as additional law judge to succeed Judge Harding, who had resigned. At the fall election Judge Woodward was chosen to succeed himself, and was re-elected in 1890, and altogether served twenty-one years on the bench of Luzerne county; the last five years as president judge. While on the bench his treatment of counsel, jurors, suitors and witnesses was always kind and considerate.

It is worthy of note that Judge Woodward was of a race

of judges. His grandfather was an associate judge in Wayne county. His father, George W. Woodward, was president judge of the Fourth Judicial District and afterwards an associate judge and later chief justice of the Supreme Court of the State. His cousin, Warren J. Woodward, was president judge of the Twenty-sixth Judicial District, then of the Twenty-third Judicial District, and later an associate judge of the Supreme Court. He was himself president judge of Luzerne county, and his son, J. Butler Woodward, is at present one of the judges of this county. Five Woodwards in judicial office.

Judge Woodward was a man of literary attainments, and when a student at Yale College won prizes for oratory and for English composition. He had a happy way of saying things and an inexhaustible fund of anecdote; was in frequent demand to address public assemblies, and as an after-dinner speaker. He was an addition to every social circle and met with welcome everywhere.

AGIB RICKETTS (admitted January 6, 1857) was early convinced that, due to the growing and important mining interests and other industrial enterprises in the county, there would be a growth in equity practice and a new field opened up for professional success. He therefore gave much of his time to the study of equity, of which the great mass of lawyers and judges as well knew very little. In a comparatively short time Mr. Ricketts acquired a reputation as a proficient practitioner in this branch of jurisprudence, although he engaged in general legal practice as well. As the business grew, especially after the adoption of the equity rules in 1865, he found frequent employment. In a number of cases he was taken in by other counsel who were glad to be relieved of the greater part of the labor and responsibility connected with an equity suit. For a considerable time Mr. Ricketts was recognized as the foremost chancery solicitor at the bar.

But later on other lawyers, largely as the result of the

simplified practice under the new rules, made a study of equity; and with the rising generation of lawyers equity became a part of their preparation for admission to the bar, and so it happened that the time arrived when Mr. Ricketts ceased to enjoy what for a while had been almost a monopoly of the business before the Court sitting in equity.

Mr. Ricketts had considerable success at the bar, but he had certain unfortunate peculiarities of temperament that at times seemed to stand in his way and to interfere with his reaching that measure of success which otherwise he doubtless would have attained.

JEROME G. MILLER (admitted April 24, 1858) had unusual success in the collection of commercial claims, most of which came to him from the cities of New York and Philadelphia, and in the main he confined himself to that branch of business. He was in many ways an attractive man and had many friends. His quaint sayings were often quoted, and established his reputation as "a town character". In 1861 Mr. Miller was the Republican candidate for district attorney and was declared elected, and served as such for some five months, but upon a contest his election was set aside. In his address to the jury in a case on trial during his short incumbency of the office, he laid down and argued with great emphasis, much to the amusement of both the bench and the bar, the novel and startling proposition that it were better that ninety-nine innocent men should be hanged rather than that one guilty man should escape.

ROBERT C. SHOEMAKER (admitted April 4, 1859) occupied law offices with his uncle, Lazarus D. Shoemaker, already mentioned.

He was a well-read and competent lawyer, but his time and attention were to a large extent taken up with other matters, and while he was in regular attendance at his office he rarely appeared in Court. He was my closest friend, for whom I entertained a warm affection so long as he lived.

High ideals and absolute personal integrity, even in the least important matter, were his characteristics. Of him it could emphatically be said, "he stands without hitchin'". He lived in his ancestral home at Forty Fort, a fine colonial mansion built by his grandfather, where with warm welcome and grace of manner he frequently received and entertained his friends and ever proved a charming host. No member of the bar and no citizen of the town commanded greater respect and esteem than Robert C. Shoemaker.

For years after I came to the bar I heard very frequent mention of Horatio W. Nicholson, who died in 1855, in the thirty-eighth year of his age; of Harrison Wright, who died in 1856, in his forty-second year, and of Warren J. Woodward, who at thirty-eight years of age was appointed to the bench of the Twenty-sixth Judicial District.

These men were all lost to the Luzerne bar in the very noonday of life. They were a remarkable trio, and all took very high rank as lawyers early in their professional careers. Nicholson, at thirty-three, was general counsel of the Lackawanna Railroad, and the others represented equally important interests. All three were in the enjoyment of very extensive practice and impressed themselves on the administration of law in their time. The memory of each of them was long kept green in the hearts and minds of their brethren of the bar.

XVII.

The foregoing sketches are limited to the resident members of what may be denominated the "Old Bar", that is to say, such lawyers as were in the active practice of law at the county seat at the time of my advent here in 1861; not including any settled elsewhere in the county. To extend the sketches to take in any considerable portion of the very large number since admitted is simply impracticable, and any selection might seem invidious. Therefore, I have upon the whole deemed it wise to confine myself within the limits stated.

As I recall the members of the "Old Bar"—with all of whom I was on friendly terms, and with some of them on even intimate terms—pleasant, though in some respects saddened, memories are awakened. As I contemplate their personnel "old faces look upon me, old forms go trooping past."

Unless a lawyer has achieved a national reputation all recollection of him seems to vanish soon after he has passed from earth. However much he may have impressed himself upon his contemporaries, or whatever rank he may have attained in his profession, it appears to count for very little even with the succeeding generation, to say nothing of later generations.

The men who constituted the "Old Bar" were men of prominence in the community as well as in the profession, and in their day helped to mold the jurisprudence of the time and did much to establish the law on firm foundations. But it would seem that, to the greater part of the nearly three hundred lawyers now here in practice, many, if not a majority, of the "Old Bar" are unknown even by name. In making my brief sketches of them one principal motive on my part has been, so far as I am able, to rescue their names and their memories from entire oblivion.

Of them all, as already stated, the only survivor is Mr. Alexander Farnham, who was admitted January 13, 1855, one day after his twenty-first birthday. Mr. Farnham's reputation as a thoroughly able lawyer is well known to the present generation, but probably few of them know that such reputation was achieved very early in his professional life. When I came to the bar Mr. Farnham was still under twenty-nine years of age, but he was then and for several years had been very generally recognized as a most competent and successful lawyer, equally at home in handling the law business of his office and the trial of cases in court.

In the year 1873 he was elected district attorney, and during his three years' incumbency of the office its duties were discharged with signal efficiency and fidelity.

Until the adoption of the rule requiring all equity cases to be heard in open court, Mr. Farnham served for a number of years as master in chancery. In his disposition of the many cases heard by him he manifested a judicial quality of mind that demonstrated his fitness for the bench, and the public would have been well served had he been so placed. Mr. Farnham's professional career at the Luzerne bar was once and possibly twice interrupted by residence elsewhere; but it is worthy of note that nearly sixty-three years have elapsed since his admission—a much greater length of time than in the case of any other member of the Luzerne bar and hardly equalled, I think, within the State.

As indicating the high estimate placed upon him by his professional associates, it is pertinent to remark that Mr. Farnham has been for twenty-five years annually elected President of the Wilkes-Barre Law and Library Association, commonly known as the Bar Association. He is still in harness and maintains his law office, where much of the time he can be found. Mr. Farnham's reading has taken a wide range and his mind is a storehouse of general information on a great variety of subjects. As lawyer and citizen he is held in very high regard by the community.

XVIII.

At the time of this writing I look back over a period of fifty-five years at the Luzerne bar, a longer period of active practice than any other present member of the bar, with the single exception of Mr. Farnham. In all these years I have never held public office, but have ever been content with the private station and the practice of my profession.

I shall, however, always regard as a signal honor my unsought and unanimous election in June, 1911, as president of the Pennsylvania Bar Association, composed of over a thousand lawyers representing every county of the Commonwealth.

For some five years past I have seldom appeared in court

and not at all in the trial of jury cases, but during the whole period I have, as a rule, been in attendance at my office every morning somewhat earlier than nine o'clock.

During my long professional career I have been connected with a large amount of important litigation, especially litigation affecting the anthracite mining interests of the region. It may well be supposed that I have had some interesting experiences, but it is not my purpose to make reference to any of the cases in which I have been engaged as counsel from time to time, other than one case, the facts of which I am led to narrate because of its tragic consequences and because I believe I am the only person living having personal knowledge of the circumstances.

At the January term of court, 1872, there was tried before Judge Harding the case of John Stark vs. William H. Merritt, involving the claim to recover coal rents or royalties under a so-called coal lease. The plaintiff was represented by Mr. W. W. Ketcham and Mr. George Byron Nicholson. Defendant was represented by Mr. Andrew T. McClintock and Mr. Stanley Woodward. A verdict was reached, but Judge Harding granted a new trial.

Meantime Mr. Merritt was married and went on his wedding trip to Europe, taking with him his wife, his sister and his wife's sister, and they remained abroad about a year.

The case was again ordered on the list for trial at the March term in the year 1873. Mr. Nicholson having died, I was retained in his place and was associated with Mr. Ketcham in the trial of the case for plaintiff, which, however, for reasons later stated, was not tried for another year.

While the case was pending on the March list, Mr. Woodward received a cablegram from his client, Mr. Merritt, in Paris, asking that the case be continued until June, inasmuch as Mr. Merritt did not want to return earlier than that date. Mr. Woodward brought his cablegram to Mr. Ketcham, who submitted it to me and asked me what I thought we had better do. I said to Mr. Ketcham that he

was the original and senior counsel, and that, of course, I would consent to anything that was agreeable to him, but that so far as I was personally concerned I had no objection to the case going over. Mr. Ketcham then said that our client (Stark) was very restive and felt that the case had been unnecessarily prolonged; that there had been quite sufficient delay already to accommodate the movements of Mr. Merritt, and insisted on trial. I then said: "If that is the attitude of our client, I suppose we have no discretion in the matter and that there is nothing for us to do but to so report to Mr. Woodward." Mr. Ketcham returned to Mr. Woodward and made the statement to him, whereupon Mr. Woodward cabled Mr. Merritt that the case would be called for trial at the March term.

I learned afterwards that Mr. Merritt planned to return alone, leaving Mrs. Merritt and the two sisters in Paris, with the intention that Mr. Merritt would later return for them; but at the last moment they changed their plans and all determined to come together, and they took passage on the ill-fated steamship "Atlantic". Off the coast of Nova Scotia, on her passage to this country, the "Atlantic" went on the rocks and proved a total wreck. Nearly all the passengers and officers and crew, including Mr. and Mrs. Merritt and the two sisters, were lost. Among the persons saved was Cornelius L. Brady, the second mate.

Sometime later the steamship "Pennsylvania", bound for the port of Philadelphia, when several hundred miles out on the ocean, encountered a terrific storm, accompanied by a tidal wave which swept from the bridge of the ship every officer who was competent to navigate the vessel. The ship load of passengers and the vessel as well were left without an officer to guide them into port. Fortunately Brady, the former second mate of the "Atlantic", was among the passengers and took command of the ship and put it safely into the port of Philadelphia, and later recovered in the United States Court at Philadelphia, in a suit against the

steamship company, some four thousand dollars for his services.

It is needless to say that the case of Stark vs. Merritt was further postponed. It was not reached for trial for about a year later, when a verdict was then rendered for our client, the plaintiff. It was appealed by the defendant to the Supreme Court, but before it was heard there, was settled by the parties.

The circumstances of this case all illustrate how great and even tragic events sometimes result from what at the time seems to be a trivial circumstance.

Had we consented to the postponement of the Stark case in March, 1873, the Merritt family would not have been on board the steamship "Atlantic" at the time of her disaster, and, moreover, in all human probability the ship would not have met with the disaster, inasmuch as it was attributed very largely to a dinner given by Mr. Merritt that night in commemoration of his wedding anniversary, which dinner was attended by all the principal officers of the ship, and it was charged that these same officers had indulged over much and thus unfitted themselves for their duty to the ship and its passengers. At all events, the surviving officers were suspended for a year by the British authorities, under the flag of which country the "Atlantic" sailed.

Had the "Atlantic" not been wrecked, Brady, the second mate, would not have been a passenger on the "Pennsylvania," and it is interesting to surmise what might then have happened to the "Pennsylvania" and its passengers.

XIX.

During the sitting of court one day, some fifty years ago, there walked into the court room a tall man, with very black hair (or wig) and sallow complexion, and altogether of singular and striking appearance. The older members of the bar gathered about him and Judge Conyngham came to the end of the bench to greet him. I soon learned that

the stranger was Thaddeus Stevens, "The Great Commoner" and leader of Congress and an eminent lawyer. His interest in the colored race and especially in the negroes of the South was very pronounced and well known, and an appeal from any of them always met with ready response on his part.

Hon. John J. Paterson, a friend of Stevens and during reconstruction days a Senator of the United States from South Carolina, told me in recent years that on one occasion the pastor of a colored church in the South came to Washington and during an afternoon and evening sought Mr. Stevens without success; the fact being that Stevens, with a few select friends, was engaged in a game of "draw poker" until near morning, with Mr. Stevens a winner to the extent of a hundred dollars. Near noon the next day the colored pastor met Stevens, all shaven and shorn, on his way to a session of the House, told him of his unsuccessful search of the day before, explained the needs of his church and appealed for financial help. Stevens listened attentively, took the poker winnings from his pocket and handed them over, at the same time quoting from Cowper's famous hymn: "God moves in a mysterious way, His wonders to perform."

At the instance of Chief Justice Woodward, who was to retire from the bench a year and a half later and who had then recently re-established his home in Wilkes-Barre in what is now the main building of the Wilkes-Barre Institute, the Supreme Court held a two weeks' session here in June, 1866.

The court at the time was composed of Chief Justice George W. Woodward and Justices James Thompson, William Strong (who afterward became a justice of the United State Supreme Court), John M. Read and Daniel Agnew.

This session of the court brought together a large number of lawyers from all the counties of the northeastern part of the State. There were argued at that time before the court

many important cases, but most important of all were the two cases, respectively, of the Commonwealth and of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company vs. the Atlantic and Great Western Railroad Company, both cases raising practically the same questions and involving the validity of a lease to the Atlantic and Great Western Company of the Catawissa railroad, which was to form an important link in a projected great trunk line from Chicago to New York, paralleling the Pennsylvania railroad line between the same cities; promoted and financed by Sir Morton Peto and Overend Gurney and Company, English capitalists.

The cases attracted great attention because of their importance, but more, perhaps, because of the large array of distinguished counsel, which included on the part of the Commonwealth William M. Meredith, one of the greatest lawyers of his generation and at the time attorney general of the State; Theodore Cuyler, a famous Philadelphia lawyer and general counsel of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, and Charles Gibbons, also a Philadelphia lawyer of prominence. For the respondent appeared Hon. Jeremiah S. Black, ex-chief justice of Pennsylvania and ex-secretary of state in Buchanan's cabinet; Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi, ex-secretary of the Treasury in Polk's cabinet; Franklin B. Gowen, general counsel of the Philadelphia & Reading Railroad Company, affiliated with the Catawissa Company; Gaylord Church and William A. Porter, both of whom had occupied seats on the bench of the Supreme Court of the State.

Justice Read, sitting at *Nisi Prius*, in February, 1866, granted an injunction against the consummation of the lease of the Catawissa road to the Atlantic and Great Western Company. On June 29, 1866, at Wilkes-Barre, and almost immediately following the argument before the Supreme Court en banc, the Court, speaking through the chief justice, reversed Justice Read and dissolved the injunction; but the

mischief had been done. The long wait between February and June proved fatal to the enterprise and ruinous to its promoters. This case illustrates what serious results may follow the mistaken action of a judge in the granting of an injunction.

The session of the Supreme Court here was made the occasion of several social functions, including a grand reception at the mansion of Mr. George M. Hollenback, a dinner at the Wyoming Valley Hotel tendered by the Luzerne county bar and presided over by Hon. Hendrick B. Wright, at which dinner the chief justice and justices and distinguished lawyers made speeches.

XX.

For many years until about the year 1850, and, perhaps, later, the county political conventions (in order, it was said, to keep away from the influences of the county officials, denominated the "Court House Ring") were held each year, the Democratic convention at Myers tavern on River street, Forty Fort, and the Whig convention at Helme's tavern, Wyoming avenue, Kingston. The number of delegates probably did not exceed forty, representing that number of election districts. Leading representative business men of the two parties attended these conventions as delegates and paid their own expenses. Such a thing as purchasing the support of any delegate was unheard of, and would have been ruinous to the prospects of any candidate who attempted it. Substantial citizens were nominated by both parties for the various offices. Some years before I became a resident here the place of holding these conventions had been changed to the court house, Wilkes-Barre, and later to some public hall.

As the character of the population changed, the character of the delegates changed, and it often happened that our fellow-citizens of foreign birth were in control.

Before Judge Stanley Woodward went on the bench he

and I would sometimes attend the Democratic conventions and act together in behalf of some person or policy in which we were interested. Many were the amusing occurrences. On one occasion, when the nomination of candidates was in order, a prominent Irish delegate from the "Old Sod" arose and said that, of course, everybody would recognize the policy of placing at least one Irishman on the ticket. He was followed by a German from the Fatherland, who said that in order to secure the votes of his countrymen it would be necessary to nominate a German. A Polish citizen said it must not be forgotten that the Poles cast a large vote and were entitled to representation on the ticket. There seemed to be no dissent from these several suggestions, but a delegate of American descent and born in this county, seeing that all the places were likely to be awarded to naturalized citizens, arose and said that he thought it was about time to consider the claims of a native American for nomination to one of the offices. He had hardly made this suggestion when a large number of the delegates arose to their feet with the shout: "Put the bloody Know-nothing out".

On another occasion Judge Woodward walked into a very turbulent and noisy Democratic convention and was immediately elected chairman, only to discover that five other chairmen had been elected in succession and had discreetly declined. Woodward took the chair. A large number of the delegates were on their feet demanding recognition, one of them flourishing a revolver in a threatening manner. The chairman shouted for order and stated that he would recognize them all in turn, but with rare tact added, that after consideration, and in the exercise of a wise discretion, he had concluded in the first instance "to recognize the man with the gun."

The humor of the situation appealed to the crowd and the chairman was thereafter able to maintain a fair degree of order.

There was a large number of colored Republican voters

in Wilkes-Barre and among them one named Towns, who was quite a ready stump speaker and exercised considerable political influence over the men of his race. The Republican managers availed themselves of Towns' services quite freely but turned a deaf ear to his demands for more substantial recognition. Finally Towns tired of this treatment and turned to the Democratic managers, who concluded that it might be good politics to extend to Towns "the glad hand". As part of their plan they had him chosen as a delegate to the Democratic county convention and selected as one of the vice presidents. As such, Towns took his seat on the platform among the other convention officials.

About this time an Irish delegate of large stature and pretty well "corned" strode down the hall and suddenly halted. He gazed at the platform with a look of surprise, and, taking in the unusual situation, he exclaimed, with unmistakable determination in his tone of voice: "Mr. Chairman, I make a motion and I second it, too, that the d——d nagur come down off the porch." The convention arose as one man and the "nagur" promptly came down.

Over one convention there was called to preside a delegate from one of the outer wards of Wilkes-Barre who was a graduate of the "prize ring". He carried things with a high hand and ruled arbitrarily, much to the disgust of many of the delegates, and particularly of Mr. Kulp, who represented one of the old wards of the city. Kulp protested over and over again against the conduct of the chair, and finally demanded to know by what rules the convention was supposed to be governed.

The chair very promptly replied: "The Marquis of Queensbury rules; take your seat!"

Kulp conceded the binding force of these rules and quietly submitted.

As a general thing, order in the yearly convention was reasonably maintained—occurrences similar to those above stated being exceptional.

The twelfth ward of Scranton, before the division of the county, was a Democratic stronghold, and our Republican friends were unkind enough to say that it was sometimes the case that a Democratic majority would be returned in excess of the entire number of taxable residents in the ward. It once happened in a close contest that the political boss of the ward telegraphed the chairman of the Democratic county committee: "Twelfth ward gives 1,200 majority; is that enough?"

In 1856 the old Whig party was practically disbanded and was succeeded by the Republican party.

It would not be becoming in me to suggest that any Whig or any Republican convention was ever otherwise than an orderly assembly, or that any Whig or Republican boss ever resorted to methods akin to those alleged to be sometimes practiced in the Twelfth Ward of Scranton.

The occurrences related are now all matters of ancient history and cannot again happen, inasmuch as county conventions are things of the past and in their place we have the direct primary—long the dream of political reformers. I think it is generally agreed that the dream has not been altogether realized, and that sometimes unworthy candidates have been foisted on the ticket by popular vote who would never have been considered by even the worst bossed convention of either party.

XXI.

When I came here in 1861 the only auditorium, other than churches, suited for any public entertainment was Chahoon Hall, occupying all above the first floor of the present Beers building, on the upper side of Market street, about one hundred feet from the Public Square. This hall seated about three hundred persons, and was followed a few years later by Liberty Hall, in the third story of the Frauenthal block, on the westerly side of Main street, midway between Public Square and Northampton street, and by Landmesser's Hall, in the third story of the block on the easterly cor-

ner of Main and South streets, each with a seating capacity of say six hundred.

In one or the other of these halls there would be given occasionally, during the winter months, a course of lectures or a series of other entertainments, consisting of concerts by some traveling troupe or by some local musical organization, sleight of hand performance by Signor Blitz and others, etc.

I recall the pleasing and well attended concerts that were given by the Hutchinson family, by the Baker family, by a quartet named the Continentals, and by the Swiss Bell Ringers, and others.

The lectures were usually of a very high order and given by especially able men. They were instructive and educational and at the same time very interesting and entertaining and commanded large audiences. Wendell Phillips of Boston, the "Silver Tongued", the most famous public speaker of his day and generation, was here at least twice in Liberty Hall during the sixties. His lecture on the "Lost Arts" was one of the most interesting deliverances ever given from any stage and was full of valuable information, much of which I can recall after all these years.

Soon after the close of the Franco-Prussian War Charles Sumner, the distinguished United States Senator from Massachusetts, delivered in Landmesser's Hall his great lecture, "The Duel Between France and Prussia." His lecture was without anecdote or humor and was read entirely from manuscript and consumed two hours in the reading, but was filled with facts concerning the war, with a statement of the secret history connected with it and the reasons which led to it, nearly all of which was new to his audience. It was all couched in perfect English and read in deep-toned and well modulated voice, and so engaged the interest of his audience that his lecture received during its two hours' reading such absolute attention throughout that even the dropping of a pin would have been heard.

After the lecture Mr. Sumner held a reception at the Wyoming Valley Hotel which was largely attended by the leading citizens of the town. They were introduced by the Hon. L. D. Shoemaker, at the time our member of Congress.

In other years the lecture platform of these halls was occupied by John B. Gough, the famous temperance apostle; by Reverend Dr. Joseph T. Duryea, a noted New York and later Boston preacher; Hon. William Parsons, a member of the British Parliament; Park Benjamin, the well-known litterateur; the eminent Bishop Simpson, of the Methodist Church; the Rev. Dr. Stephen Tyng, of New York, celebrated Episcopal divine; Bayard Taylor, Mrs. Scott Siddons, Mark Twain, and others.

Fully forty-five years ago there was completed, on the easterly corner of River and Market streets, a large brick block, occupying the present site of the Hotel Sterling. The first floor was used for business purposes, but over all was a large and well-appointed auditorium seating about twelve hundred persons and known as Music Hall, with an ample stage, galleries, proscenium boxes, all well adapted for musical entertainments and for the production of theatrical plays as well.

When finished, Music Hall was opened by a concert in which appeared Clara Louise Kellogg, the famous opera singer of the time, accompanied by the Germania Orchestra, the leading Philadelphia musical organization of that day. The hall was crowded by the best people of the town. From time to time thereafter for a period of twenty years or more famous actors and famous singers, and occasionally famous lecturers, entertained the public at Music Hall. Among the actors were Joseph Jefferson, Mr. and Mrs. William J. Florence, John T. Raymond, Mrs. Drew, mother of John Drew; Maggie Mitchell, John E. Owens, and many other players of the day. Among the musical stars, besides Clara Louise Kellogg, were Christine Nilsson, Caroline Richings, and others whose names I do not at the moment

recall. Music Hall served its day and generation and was demolished in 1895 to make way for the Hotel Sterling.

XXII.

About the middle of June, 1863, Gen. Lee's threatened advance on Pennsylvania, which a little later culminated in the Battle of Gettysburg, led Governor Curtin to issue an urgent call for volunteers to repel the invaders. Prompt response was made throughout the Commonwealth, and Wilkes-Barre, with a population of about five thousand, raised three companies of one hundred men each, which practically took all the young men of the town. These three companies were at the outset commanded respectively by Dr. Edward R. Mayer, Stanley Woodward and Agib Ricketts, but a little later Dr. Mayer was commissioned colonel and Ricketts declined to be mustered in because of a difference with the mustering authorities, and command of his company, in which I enlisted as a private, was taken over by Edward W. Finch as captain and Alexander Farnham as first lieutenant, who later was appointed adjutant general of the brigade. We were designated as Company K and assigned at first to the —th Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteer Militia, but this was later changed to the 30th Regiment. We proceeded from here to Harrisburg in open platform cars, and after reaching there bivouacked the first night on the capitol grounds and then were removed to Camp Curtin, adjoining Harrisburg, in which a hundred thousand men had preceded us, and its sanitary condition can be more easily imagined than described. From there we moved to a camp on the opposite side of the river.

Few had any appreciation of the gravity of the situation, and practically none of us had had any previous training. Discipline was very lax; familiar and friendly relations existed between our officers and the rank and file, as indicated by the fact that we did not address our captain as such, but invariably as "Finchy". Our officers made some attempt to

drill us, but with indifferent success; many of us had to be shown how to load a gun, and yet it would seem that we were counted on to meet and overawe the veterans of Lee's army. Word came that Lee had crossed the State line, and about the last day of June we took up our march for Carlisle, sixteen miles away. The day was warm and the march told rather heavily on the company, most of whom came from offices and stores and were unaccustomed to much exercise. We reached Carlisle about four in the afternoon and found men, women and children on the streets, and many of us were served with coffee and sandwiches.

Our brigade commander was a resident of Wilkes-Barre, but a native and former resident of Carlisle, and a gentleman somewhat given to his cups. As he led the column up the Main street he was quickly recognized by his Carlisle friends, and having in mind his convivial habits the brigadier was greeted with the shout: "Our expected succor has arrived." (I feel some uncertainty as to how I ought to spell the third word of that sentence.) We marched up the street in rather jaunty manner and had not the slightest apprehension of approaching danger.

Suddenly, and to our great surprise, a shell came tearing down the street, followed by others, killing a horse, shattering the arm of a member of a Philadelphia battery and cutting off a large limb from one of the trees. Our scouts reported a Rebel battery commanding the street. This was very alarming, but we met the situation with great heroism by quickly taking possession of the houses along our route of march, because we concluded that it would be wiser and safer to give the "Rebs" a clear passage in case they made a charge down the street, which we were advised was likely to happen. The firing of the battery, after a time, ceased, and its long cessation was so reassuring that we ventured forth from the houses and retired in good order behind the court house, where we remained in comparative security all night.

By reason of my profession, and for every reason, I have ever regarded a court house with great respect, as playing an important part in safeguarding our lives and our liberties; but I confess I never had it borne in upon me with such emphasis as when in the twilight we sought the shelter of the Carlisle court house that warm summer evening in 1863. During the night we discovered that our friends, the enemy, had set fire to the United States barracks, but inasmuch as we had not enlisted as firemen, we did not deem it our duty to interfere, and the barracks were soon a heap of ashes. We learned afterwards that the attacking force consisted of some three thousand cavalymen of Fitzhugh Lee's command, accompanied by a battery, and that their officers had planned to surround the town and take us prisoners, but at the critical moment they received peremptory orders to move at once to Gettysburg.

It is not to be assumed that we would have submitted to capture. It is better to think that by the enemy's move to Gettysburg they were saved from being wiped out by the prowess of the Pennsylvania Volunteer Militia.

A few days after this we met the —th Regiment (to which our company was at first assigned) returning to Harrisburg from Wrightsville, where the whole body had been made prisoners by Gen. Gordon's command and paroled. When we met them they were barefooted and a rather uncomfortable looking lot, and appeared as if they would prefer not to meet their friends just then, at least, not until they could doff their uniforms. The enemy had taken from them their guns, their knapsacks, haversacks, blankets, shoes and stockings, practically leaving them nothing but their coats and trousers. Candor compels me to say that, notwithstanding their ludicrous and embarrassed appearance, I am led to believe that inasmuch as they were going home, there was a lurking feeling of regret among some of the men of Company K that the first assignment of the com-

pany to the —th Regiment rather than the 30th Regiment had not held good.

Later we moved to South Mountain and learned that the Battle of Gettysburg was in progress; then to Shippensburg, Chambersburg and Greencastle in turn. Meantime the Battle of Gettysburg was fought and won without our assistance and we returned to Camp Curtin, where, after six weeks in the United States service, we were mustered out.

I reached home on a Thursday and was taken down with typhoid fever on Sunday. After a tedious illness I recovered in due time and am able to "point with pride" to my very important service rendered in the Civil War, for which up to this time I have received neither the thanks of Congress nor a pension.

XXIII.

Upon the receipt of the news of General Lee's surrender of the Confederate army, April 9, 1865, Wilkes-Barre went fairly wild. Men who were never known to indulge in the use of intoxicating liquors in any form whatever, threw good resolutions to the winds and celebrated the event to the fullest extent. Judge Conyngham—who had two sons in the Union Army, one as lieutenant colonel of the 52nd Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, and another as major of the 143rd Regiment—happened to be on the Public Square near the telegraph office and was first shown the telegram announcing the surrender. The judge promptly made known the fact. Great excitement prevailed. A crowd quickly gathered and formed a procession, escorting the judge towards his home on River street. When the procession reached the residence of Mr. John Henry Swoyer, next that of Judge Conyngham's, Mr. Swoyer invited the entire crowd into his house. The invitation was promptly accepted and as many as could, including Judge Conyngham, entered the house. Mr. Swoyer produced decanters and glasses from the sideboard and all awaited the action of the judge, who half filled a small glass and raised it and then set it

down without partaking. He raised the glass a second time and set it down, and raising it the third time, said: "If there ever comes a time when one is justified in manifesting his joy by drinking a toast with his friends, this is most assuredly that time, but due to the high office which I hold I have deemed it wise and proper during my occupancy of the bench to practice total abstinence. I believe it to be wise and proper even now and upon this joyful occasion that I should adhere to my resolve made many years ago." He set the glass down for the third time untasted. The crowd applauded and the judge said good-bye and quietly took his departure.

The other guests of Mr. Swoyer, however, did not follow the judge's good example. I think it safe to say that each drank the judge's share as well as his own share.

What occurred at Mr. Swoyer's was at the same time occurring at many places in the old town. I recall that one prominent citizen of temperate habits mounted the counter in the barroom of the old Eagle Hotel, corner of Market and Franklin streets, and harangued the crowd, holding a raised umbrella over his head. Some one called out, "It isn't raining," whereupon came the reply, "Perhaps not, but there will be a storm when I get home."

Speeches were made on about every corner. Bells rang and cannon boomed. At night houses and business places were brilliantly lighted; bonfires blazed and fireworks illuminated the sky.

It was several days before matters settled down to a normal state, when business was regularly resumed.

Alas! the almost frantic rejoicing over Lee's surrender was followed a few days later by deepest sorrow, occasioned by the assassination of President Lincoln on the fourteenth day of the month, accompanied as it was by the attempted assassination of several members of the cabinet. When the dreadful news of this event reached Wilkes-Barre it created here, as it did everywhere, universal grief. A pall seemed

to settle down on the whole community. Everybody seemed to feel a sense of personal loss, and conversation on the street corners was conducted in an undertone. Added to this was an uneasy feeling of apprehension as to its possible effect on the outcome of the war. To give outward expression to the universal mourning all our churches and public buildings, the principal business houses and very many of the private residences, were heavily draped in black. Very little else was talked about or thought about for days together, and the event left its deep impress long after the happening of the sad event.

XXIV.

On the Fourth of July, 1872, was celebrated the centennial of the founding of Wilkes-Barre in 1772, surveyed and named by Major John Durkee. The name, as all residents are supposed to know, is a compound of the surnames of Colonel John Wilkes and Colonel Isaac Barre. The former was the founder of the "Sons of Liberty" in England, mayor of London and member of Parliament; and the latter fought with Durkee under Wolfe at Quebec and was a member of Parliament, and both were friends of the American colonies.

The exercises and ceremonies on that Fourth of July, 1872, were most interesting and impressive. Practically all the business houses and residences were elaborately decorated. Red, white and blue streamers extended from the top of the court house tower to the four corners of the Public Square, where were erected four arches over the streets, having on them banners with appropriate mottoes and devices.

Hon. Henry M. Hoyt was chairman of the committee of arrangements and was the chief marshal of the grand parade, having as assistant marshals Hon. Stanley Woodward, Colonel E. B. Beaumont, Major C. M. Conyngham and Major E. A. Hancock. The parade, with its right rest-

ing on River street, extended a distance of two and one-half miles, and was the most imposing up to that time ever seen in Northern Pennsylvania. The long procession embraced the survivors of the Wyoming Artillerists who had served in the Mexican War, members of the Grand Army of the Republic, a squadron of cavalry, the 15th and 17th Regiments of the Pennsylvania National Guard, some dozen or more brass bands, numerous floats of novel design representing business houses, all the fire companies of the city and fire companies from Scranton, Carbondale, Allentown and Towanda.

Following the parade an immense audience gathered on the Public Square. The meeting was presided over by Judge Dana and addressed by Colonel Wright and Hon. W. W. Ketcham.

The occasion will never be forgotten by those who were present at the time, and the arrangements were carried out most elaborately and to the satisfaction and great pleasure of all concerned.

On July 3, 1878, occurred the Centennial Anniversary of the Battle and Massacre of Wyoming. Appropriate and impressive ceremonies were observed at the Wyoming Monument in memory of those who lost their lives on that fatal July 3, 1778, and whose services and sacrifices are commemorated by the monument which bears this inscription in model English, composed by Edward G. Mallery, the gifted son of Judge Mallery, and worthy to rank with Lincoln's Gettysburg address:

Near this spot was fought
On the afternoon of Friday, the third day of
July, 1778,

THE BATTLE OF WYOMING,

In which a small band of patriotic Americans,
Chiefly the undisciplined, the youthful and the aged,
Spared by inefficiency from the distant ranks of the Republic,
Led by Col. Zebulon Butler and Col. Nathan Denison,
with a courage that deserved success,
Boldly met and bravely fought
A combined British, Tory and Indian force
of thrice their number.
Numerical superiority alone gave success to the invader,
And wide spread havoc, desolation and ruin
Marked his savage and bloody footsteps through the Valley.

THIS MONUMENT,

Commemorative of these events,
and of the actors in them,
has been erected

OVER THE BONES OF THE SLAIN

By their descendants and others, who gratefully
appreciate
the services and sacrifices of their patriot
ancestors.

From railroad ticket sales and other data it was estimated that fully eighty thousand persons from distant as well as nearby points attended the Centennial exercises, to which interest was added by the presence of President and Mrs. Hayes and two members of the President's cabinet, Secretary of the Treasury John Sherman and Attorney General Devens.

The President's party arrived at the Wyoming station in a special train, via Northumberland, about 8:30 in the morning and was met by a vast concourse of people and welcomed in a most graceful and appropriate address by Hon. Henry M. Hoyt. The members of the party were served with a generous breakfast at the residence of Mr. Payne

Pettebone, whose guests they were for the day. All along the route from the railroad station houses were elaborately decorated, and every evidence of welcome given to the distinguished guests. Near the monument grounds was a large museum with the most interesting and extensive collection of Indian relics open to all comers, which was visited by a large number of people. The President's party, accompanied by Governor Hartranft and his staff, in full uniform, proceeded from the Pettebone residence to the monument, where memorial services were in progress.

The President delivered a fitting and excellent address which was warmly received by his audience.

At this juncture in the proceedings great commotion and excitement were created by the appearance of eighteen Onondaga Indians from the New York Reservation in full war paint and feathers, some of whose ancestors had taken part in the battle of July 3, 1778. These braves, in true Indian style, squatted on the floor of the platform and were the objects of the curious and excited interest of the audience for a considerable time to the exclusion of all else. When matters quieted down, Hon. Hendrick B. Wright delivered an address of unusual eloquence, welcoming the visiting thousands. The New York Herald, in its report of the proceedings of the day, commented on Col. Wright's address as above and beyond any other delivered.

Colonel Wright's effort was followed by appropriate odes and poems; by a very interesting and informing historical address by Hon. Steuben Jenkins, and an oration by the Rev. William P. Abbott, a native of the valley, but at the time a distinguished New York clergyman, and by several other addresses, and the exercises closed by short addresses by Secretary Sherman and Attorney General Devens.

The interesting and impressive program occupied most of the forenoon, and after an hour or more recess for luncheon, was resumed for a short time in the afternoon. A very considerable number of aged men and women, the

immediate descendants of the actors in the tragedy of a hundred years before, were in attendance. All the leading newspapers of the country were represented by special correspondents and very full reports were published of the day's events.

An important feature of the program was the mass singing of a chorus of several hundred voices after previous careful rehearsals. Previously, that is to say, as early as 1865, there had been more or less hall singing by various German societies, and the Welsh singers had held their eisteddfods. The success of the musical part of the program of this occasion taught the American element that it too could bear a creditable share in large choral effort. In the years that have since intervened, choral music has brought its charm to Americans, to the Irish people, and latterly to the Polish citizens of this section, as well as to the Germans and the Welsh. At this time—1917—choral qualification as to number of voices, quantity and experience, is probably as great here as in any equal area of population anywhere, and it is to be regretted that we do not make more frequent use of this means of religious and social uplift as an offset to those trivial amusements that unfortunately have become a vogue in industrial centers.

The change from grave to gay often seems to follow in natural sequence, and so the commemorative exercises at the monument, with a somewhat somber cast, were followed the next day at Wilkes-Barre with exercises of a different character suited to the joyousness of the Fourth of July.

Everybody was awake and alert at an early hour. Elaborate and beautiful decorations met one on every hand. At sunrise the Wyoming Artillerists fired a salute of one hundred guns, and all the bells of the city rang out a greeting to our national natal day. Every arriving train was loaded down with passengers, and it was considered to be a safe estimate that the throng numbered not less than one hundred thousand. It was officially reported that more than

thirty-five thousand railroad excursion tickets were sold from Philadelphia alone to Wilkes-Barre on July 3 and 4.

Promptly at eleven o'clock a gun of the battery broke upon the still air, and as promptly the grand pageant of seven divisions, led by Chief Marshal Stanley Woodward, assisted by fifty aides, with the city police mounted on fine horses, began to move down River street.

In the first division were various military organizations, including the Veteran Corps of Philadelphia. In the second and third divisions members of the Grand Army of the Republic and the survivors of the Andersonville prison. In the fourth division were the various fire companies of Wilkes-Barre and neighboring towns, and in the fifth division several commanderies of Knights Templar. The sixth division consisted of a series of historical tableaux in ten sub-divisions, which proved to be the most interesting feature of the parade and had in the lead the Onondaga Indians, marching in traditional Indian file. The seventh division embraced the business and manufacturing interests of the valley, which were very attractively represented.

The procession was over an hour in passing a given point, and from a stand erected on the river common, opposite the Wyoming Valley Hotel, was reviewed by the President and the members of his cabinet and by Governor Hartranft and staff.

A free dinner was given, in a temporary building erected on ground vacant at the time on the easterly corner of Market and Washington streets, for the deserving ones, admitted on tickets previously and gratuitously distributed. In the afternoon there was an interesting regatta on the river in which many boats participated and was followed by an award of prizes.

Later in the afternoon an immense crowd gathered on the lower river common and was addressed from the steps of Mr. William L. Conyngham's residence by the President, by ex-United States Senator Charles R. Buckalew, by Sec-

retary Sherman, Attorney General Devens and Hon. Sylvester Dana of New Hampshire, whose ancestors were here at the time of the Battle of Wyoming.

Attorney General Devens, in his remarks, pointed out the similarity existing between the people of his own State of Massachusetts and the Wyoming Valley—even to the names of citizens here as well as there.

I recall that as he was speaking the little steamer "Plymouth" came down the river from its landing up town, bound for the town of Plymouth, four miles away, and he called attention to it as emphasizing his reference to New England in connection with the Wyoming Valley; and in this reference he stated that at the time of the Revolution there was a Massachusetts town named for the royal Governor Hutchinson, that the patriots resolved to change the name and debated as between Wilkes and Barre, that it was left to popular vote and that Barre carried by one majority, and is Barre, Massachusetts, to this day. He then added, "but you did better, you combined the two."

In the evening all public buildings and hundreds of private residences were brilliantly illuminated. Calcium lights blazed from the court house tower and a grand and elaborate display of fire works took place on the river common at the foot of Union street. This was followed by a reception held by President and Mrs. Hayes at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Parrish on River street.

On the morning of the fifth the Presidential party took its departure for Washington, accompanied by United States Senator J. Donald Cameron, and Wilkes-Barre resumed its everyday life.

Having in my narration of events reached a time within the remembrance of so many yet living, I will not prolong this paper, but will spare my friends any further recital of "Some Early Recollections".

POSTSCRIPT.—The foregoing paper was written as part of last summer's diversion and intended for my family and immediate friends. Later the paper was read as a contribution towards an evening's entertainment at one of the meetings of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, and thus finds a place in the Society's publications. Its desultory character, its lack of chronological order in the narration of events, and its very limited scope, are conceded by the writer and preclude its being in anywise regarded as local history—nor is it intended as such. The reader is, therefore, asked to be considerate in his criticism of the paper.

I would like to emphasize the fact that our local history is most interesting and ought to be much better understood by our people. For full information on the subject the reader is commended to the "History of Wilkes-Barre and Wyoming Valley," by Oscar Jewell Harvey, in three large volumes, of which two volumes, beautifully illustrated, are already published, and the third volume is nearly ready for the press.

GEORGE R. BEDFORD.

Wilkes-Barre, May 1, 1918.



FORTY FORT STOCKADE, 1778

OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE BATTLE OF WYOMING, JULY, 1778, MADE BY MAJ. JOHN BUTLER TO HIS SUPERIOR OFFICER.*

Major John Butler to Lieut. Col. Bolton.

Lacuwanack 8th July 1778.

Sir,

On the 30th June I arrived with about 500 Rangers & Indians at Wioming, & encamped on an eminence which overlooked the greatest part of the settlement from whence I sent out parties to discover the situation & strength of the enemy, who brought in eight prisoners & scalps. Two Loyalists who came into my Camp informed me that the Rebels could muster about 800 men, who were all assembled in their Forts.

July 1st. I marched to the Distance of half a mile of Wintermounts Fort and sent in Lieut. Turney with a Flag to demand immediate possession of it, which was soon agreed to.

A flag was next sent to Jenkin's Fort, which surrendered on nearly the same conditions as Wintermount's both of which are enclosed.

I next summoned Forty Fort, the Commandant of which refused the condition I sent him.

July 3rd. Parties were sent out to collect cattle, who informed me that the Rebels were preparing to attack me.

This pleased the Indians highly who observed they should be upon an equal footing with them in the woods, at Two o'clock we discovered the Rebels upon their march in number about 400 or 500. Between four & five o'clock they were advanced within a mile of us, finding them determined, I ordered the Forts to be sett on fire, which deceived the Enemy into an opinion that we had retreated. We then posted ourselves in a fine open wood & for our greater safety lay flat upon the ground, waiting their approach. When they were within 200 yards of us, they began firing, we still Continued upon the ground, without returning their Fire, till they had fired three vollies, by this time they had advanced within 100 yards of us & being quite near enough *Suingerachton* ordered his Indians who were upon the right to begin the attack upon our part, which was immediately well seconded by the Rangers on the left. Our fire was so close & well directed, that the affair was soon over, not last-

*Courtesy of Mr. C. M. Burton, Detroit, Michigan. From Canadian Archives, Series B, Vol. 100, page 381.

ing above half an hour from the time they gave us the first fire till their flight. In this action were taken 227 scalps and only five prisoners. The Indians were so exasperated with their loss last year near Fort Stanwix that it was with the greatest difficulty I could save the lives of these few.

Colonel Denniston who came in next day with a Minister & four others to treat for the remainder of the settlement of Westmoreland assure me, that they have lost, one Colonel, Two Majors, seven Captains, thirteen Lieuts, eleven Ensigns and two hundred and sixty eight Privates. On our side are killed one Indian, two Rangers & eight Indians wounded. In this incursion we have taken and destroyed eight pallisades Forts, and burned about a thousand dwelling houses, all their mills, etc. We have also killed and drove off about 1000 head of Horned Cattle & sheep & swine in great numbers. But what gives me the sincerest satisfaction is that I can with great truth assure you that in the destruction of this settlement not a single person has been hurt of the inhabitants but such as were in arms—to these indeed the Indians gave no quarter.

I have also the pleasure to inform you that the officers and Rangers behaved during this short action highly to my satisfaction & have allways supported themselves through hunger & fatigue with great cheerfulness.

I have this day sent a party of men to the Delaware to destroy a small settlement out there, and to bring off Prisoners. In two or three days I shall send out other parties for the same purpose if I can supply myself with provisions, I shall harrass the adjacent Country & prevent them from getting in their Harvest.

The settlement of Schohary on the Minisinks will be my next object, both of which abound in Corn, & Cattle, the destruction of which cannot fail of greatly distressing the Rebels, I have not yet been able to hear anything of the Expresses I sent to Generals Howe & Clinton, but as I sent them by ten different Routes, I am in hopes that some of them will be able to make their way to them and return.

In a few days I do my self the honor of writing to you more fully and send you a Journal of my proceedings since I left Niagara.

I am, Sir, with respect

Your most obedient and very humble servant
JOHN BUTLER.

SOMETHING ABOUT COAL.

BY BAIRD HALBERSTADT, F. G. S.,
of Pottsville, Pa.

READ BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, WILKES-BARRE,
PA., MAY 24, 1918.

(HAYDEN GEOLOGICAL LECTURE FUND.)

The title of this paper may seem odd but it has been purposely selected for several reasons:

(1) Because the time and space allotted are too short to give more than a brief outline of so important a subject, if the entire ground were to be gone over; and,

(2) Because there are many things about coal that even really learned men do not as yet know, and it would, therefore be presumptuous for me to attempt to explain them.

Twenty or thirty years ago, we thought we knew practically all about coal but to-day we are not so self-satisfied. There is a vast difference between the terms, something and everything, so, at the outset, I would warn you that I do not know everything about coal and that there are many problems concerning this valuable fuel that have yet to be scientifically solved.

The topic upon which I am to speak is Coal. I, therefore, shall ask myself some questions upon this subject and attempt to answer them.

What is Coal? How came it to be and of what is it composed? Why does it burn? How and where is it found? What are the ranks or grades of coal and how do they essentially differ from each other? Why are some coals better adapted to specific uses than others?

Although coals are spoken of in the Bible, it is more than likely that charcoal rather than stone coal is referred to. The earliest authentic mention of stone coal is, perhaps, found in a paragraph from the writings of Theophrastus, who lived about 238 B. C., in which he says: "Those sub-

stances that are called coals and are broken for use are earthy, but they kindle and burn like wooden coals. They are found in Lyguria, where there is amber, and in Elis over the mountains toward Olympias. They are used by the smiths."

Lyguria is now the province of Genoa, Italy. Elis is to-day a nomarchy of Greece.

The first question is: What is Coal?

Coal is a solid combustible, more or less stratified mineral, composed of organic matter, largely vegetable, deposited in its initial stage in the form of peat but which as the result of pressure, its attending influences, and probably fermentative heat, has been mechanically condensed and chemically changed, suffering partial losses, chiefly as gases, of some of its organic elements. It varies in color from a pale brown to black. It is more or less lustrous and usually brittle. The material of which it is composed is carbon, hydrogen, nitrogen, oxygen, moisture, sulphur and phosphorus, in varying quantities, the two latter comparatively small, and an inert material, ash, which, upon analysis, is shown to contain silica, alumina, lime, potash, soda, oxide and bisulphide of iron, and magnesia. The ash of coal represents largely the material derived from the earth by the plants themselves and material which may have become intermixed in the course of deposition. The percentages of these in an ash have much to do in determining the value of coal for any purpose. An ash residue containing not less than 30% silica, nor less than 30% alumina, oxide of iron not over 15%, lime not more than 10%, and magnesia not exceeding 3% is, under present practice, considered the most desirable. Of course, a high ash coal is undesirable. Thus in a short ton of coal, having a 3% ash content, there are sixty (60) pounds of incumbustible material. The higher the ash content, the greater the cost of removal of the refuse matter.

Water is also undesirable, for its expulsion requires the expenditure of heat. Sulphur and phosphorus are also un-

desirable, especially when the coal or coke made from it is used for metallurgical purposes, the former making a red short, the latter a cold short iron; a high sulphur coal is very undesirable for the manufacture of illuminating gas, since it requires additional treatment for removing it which must be done before the product is fit for consumption.

Before proceeding to tell how the vegetable matter might have been transformed, it is well to explain how plants feed and how and from what sources the plant food is derived.

Let us, for example, take a tree. This consists of root, trunk, branches, twigs and leaves. A tree derives 93% to 95% of its food from the atmosphere and but 5 to 7% from the soil upon which it grows. The belief, so generally held, that from the soil the major part of the nourishment of the plant is obtained is erroneous. The soil contributes mineral salts and water, but these do not exceed 7% of the whole. The main work of the root apart from this is to maintain the tree in an upright position.

Now the question arises, how can the tree obtain its food from the air? The answer is through its leaves. Strip a tree of its leaves and it will starve to death. The construction of a leaf when viewed through a microscope, especially a cross section of it, is most interesting; there will be seen hundreds of mouths, technically termed stomates. These are the breathing pores through and with which air is sucked. It might also be termed a miniature chemical laboratory, because of work performed by it, in separating carbon dioxide into its elemental parts, and its retention of carbon, hydrogen and some little oxygen.

From millions of chimneys, locomotive, steamboat and other stacks, from every human being and animal, coke ovens and all places where combustion is going on, including that derived from decaying animal and vegetable matter, carbon dioxide in enormous quantities, in the aggregate, is being made and sent into the atmosphere, and were it not for the absorption and utilization of it by plants, large and

small, the atmosphere would soon become vitiated, if not poisonous. Once again, we see the providence of the Creator. We inhale oxygen which burns up in our bodies the food we eat, and we exhale carbon dioxide, the product of such combustion, which is taken up by the plants, torn apart, the carbon being retained and free oxygen, the great life giving property, given back to us to breathe again. In times of fogs and at night, the percentage of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere is higher than in clear weather, when the sun is shining brightly.

Too frequently the idea is expressed that coal is formed from decayed vegetation. Such is far from being the case. Decomposition or organic material is accomplished in many ways but the two processes with which we have to particularly deal are those known as decay and putrefaction. Between these, there is a vast difference. In the former, aërobic bacteria play a most important part, while in the latter anaërobic bacteria are largely responsible for the putrefactive process or putrefaction.

Decay is the result of the work of aërobic bacteria and later the slow burning or oxidation or a union of oxygen with the combustible material. The process goes on where conditions are favorable, that is, in the presence of an abundance of air which is necessary for supporting life in the aërobic bacteria and supplying the oxygen necessary for combustion. Acted upon by the bacteria and oxygen, the organic material will disappear in the form of gases, leaving about the same material that would be found in the ashes, were the same material subjected to rapid combustion. When this process is complete, no trace of organic matter remains. The gaseous products of decay are carbon dioxide and water.

Putrefaction is accomplished largely through the work of anaërobic bacteria. These are entirely different from the bacteria of decay. The chemical changes are likewise different. In putrefaction, the chemical changes are much

slower and less complete. Putrefactive products are resistant to further change. The products of *decay* are carbon dioxide and water. Those of *putrefaction*, while having some of the same gases as in the products of decay, they are found in smaller quantity, while in addition to these, we have other gases which do not occur in decay, such as marsh gas CH_4 , phosphine, hydrogen sulphide, etc.

Briefly, in decay, the process is complete, whereas in putrefaction, it is incomplete and its products are resistant to further decay.

In the transition of vegetal matter to coal, as we find it to-day, two stages at least have been passed through. The first is putrefaction, the second is the metamorphic.

Renault has conclusively proved, that fermentation and decomposition of organic tissues are largely due to the work of certain micro-organisms, perhaps both aërobic and anaërobic. During this fermentation and masceration, the plant material was broken up and parts of it became more or less of a pasty consistency. Fermentative heat and the pressure of the rocks overlying the mass, and perhaps other causes, completed the process.

Analyses of the several grades of coal, from peat to anthracite, show a loss of percentage in hydrogen and a still heavier loss of oxygen, and a consequent increase in the percentage of carbon.

How coal came to be? In order to answer this question, it will be necessary to take you on a long journey through past ages. Millions of years ago, in some sections of the world, where the climate and the land and water conditions, as for instance, marshy and swampy places, were favorable, there grew in wild luxuriance vegetation of an ancient type; these, large and small, related to the club mosses and horse-tails of to-day, ferns and fernlike plants allied to the cycads and other plants including some whose relationship to present day types are obscure. These, growing year after year, died down, depositing in comparatively shallow water

great masses of vegetable debris. That the vegetation was composed of a vast number of species is evidenced by the great number found in fossil form to-day. These great masses, due to slow oscillations of the earth's crust, were slowly depressed and subsequently covered with sand, silt or muck which to-day we find in the form of sandstones, shales and slates.

That these oscillations occurred is evident from the occurrence of marine and fresh water formations in the same vertical rock sections. That these masses must have accumulated under water is certain, for had not such been the case, complete oxidation or destruction of the plant material would have followed. The process was necessarily slow, but, in the course of ages, these masses of vegetation, acted upon by fermentative heat and the pressure of the overlying rock masses, were transformed into the mineral substance which is commonly known as coal. In this, I think the providence of the Creator for man is beautifully illustrated. Ages before the coming of man, but in anticipation of his advent, these vegetal masses were deposited and buried often beneath thousands of feet of rock, and later, in some localities, through the wrinkling of the earth's crust and still later, through erosion, these vast deposits were made accessible to man, the only creature who could utilize them. Did not this foretell the coming of man? Surely, it must have been a part of the magnificent scheme of Creation.

The question is sometimes asked: What were the probable atmospheric and climatic conditions during the Carboniferous period? From what we have been able to learn, the climate was probably warm and moist, resembling that of the semi-tropical latitudes of to-day, while the atmosphere contained a comparatively higher percentage of carbon dioxide, for the growth of the plants was, no doubt, rapid and a higher percentage of this gas was essential for its prolific and luxuriant growth.

Still another question is very frequently asked: What evidence is there, that coal is derived from vegetable matter? Microscopic examination, chemical analyses and physical appearances (especially of the lignites) offer decisive and seemingly conclusive proof of its vegetal origin. In fact, as far as I have been able to learn, no geologist of any standing in the profession holds other views. Much as they differ as to the mode of deposition, *i. e.* whether the plants grew where the coal is now found or the plant debris was transported by water to these localities from the place of growth, they are apparently unanimous on the question of its origin.

Carbonaceous matter is found in nearly every geologic formation from the Silurian to the most recent, but it was not until Carboniferous times in this country, that it was deposited in commercially valuable quantities. It is found between the slates, shales, limestones, sandstones and conglomerates, all of which are of sedimentary origin. It occurs bedded and not like gold and silver in veins. Usage has made the term coal vein seemingly proper, but technically, they should be termed coal beds and not coal veins.

According to the generally but not wholly accepted theory at the present time, the various stages through which the vegetable debris have passed are as follows:

Peat,	Semi-anthracite,
Lignite,	Anthracite,
Sub-bituminous,	Graphite.
Bituminous,	

Peat is largely vegetable matter, partly decomposed and broken down. This material has been deposited in places where the conditions were unfavorable to further decomposition; such conditions are often found in swamps and marshy places. Even when dried, the calorific value of peat is low; when briquetted, however, this is doubled. It is hardly probable, except in certain localities remote from

coal fields, that the peat briquetting industry will be profitable, certainly not for some years to come.

Lignite may be termed an imperfectly formed (brown) coal which retains to a marked degree its woody texture. Compared with true coals, its percentage of water is very high and its fixed carbon correspondingly low. The lignites disintegrate rapidly when exposed to the weather and are inferior as fuels to the carboniferous coals. The lignites are found in the late Cretaceous, Liassic and Tertiary formations but rarely in the Carboniferous. When crushed and briquetted, the heating value of the lignites is much increased.

Sub-bituminous is a term applied to a coal intermediate between lignite and bituminous coals. Formerly, these were called black lignites. Their calorific value is higher than that of the lignites. Its color is black, while the color of the lignites is brown.

The name bituminous, when applied to coal is a misnomer. The inference given is that it contains bitumen which it does not, or if at all, in small quantities. Coals of this class contain over 22% of volatile matter. It includes the coals especially adapted to the manufacture of gas and coke. Cannel coal might also be included in this class, although differing materially from it in the amount of its component parts.

Coals having less than 22% and over 12% volatile matter and 60% to 73% fixed carbon are designated semi-bituminous coals. Coals of this class are especially adapted for the generation of steam, and when the percentage of sulphur does not exceed 1% and the ash constituent not over 7%, they make ideal coals for blacksmithing purposes.

The term semi-anthracite is applied to coals containing not less than 6% nor more than 10% volatile matter. Such coals are in especial demand as household or domestic fuel. The greater part of the tonnage of this variety is mined in the western ends of the Western Middle, Southern anthracite fields and the Bernice field of Pennsylvania. Some

coals of this grade are also mined in Arkansas, and at Alberta, Canada.

The last stage of the coal formation is designated as the anthracite. This variety is much harder than the other coals described. It is black, bright and glossy, does not, when clean, soil the fingers when handled, it is of greater specific gravity than other varieties and is higher in fixed carbon and lower in volatile matter. Its fracture is conchoidal.

Analyses of a good coke and of a good anthracite show strikingly similar results, especially in the ash and fixed carbon contents. The percentage of volatile matter in anthracite does not exceed 6% and is frequently less than 3%.

Comparatively speaking, the areas of the anthracite fields are very small. The areas underlaid by these coals in Pennsylvania comprise but four hundred and eighty-four (484) square miles.

All attempts to mine the anthracite (so-called) in Rhode Island and Massachusetts have resulted disastrously from a financial point of view.

Elementary analyses of the vegetal matter in its passage from peat to anthracite as given by Prof. Reis show, that the percentage of carbon rapidly increases; the hydrogen and nitrogen and oxygen decreases rapidly. The percentage of carbon increases from 60% in peat to 90% in anthracite, the hydrogen percentage decreases from 6.5% to 2.43%. The oxygen percentage decreases from 31.5% in peat to 2.45% in anthracite. The percentage of nitrogen also decreases from 2.51% in peat to 1% in semi-bituminous.

ELEMENTARY ANALYSES OF COALS.

KIND	C	H	O	N	S	Ash	Moisture
Peat.....	59.47	6.52	31.51	2.51	.....	.....	22
Lignite.....	52.66	5.22	27.15	.71	2.02	12.24	....
Sub-bituminous...	58.41	5.06	28.99	1.09	.63	4.79	....
Butuminous.....	82.70	4.77	9.39	1.62	.45	1.07	....
Semi-bituminous..	83.14	4.58	4.65	1.02	.75	5.86	....
Anthracite.....	90.45	2.43	2.45	.....	.....	4.67	....

In both anthracite and bituminous coals, a number of subdivisions are made necessary by the differences in chemical composition and physical conditions. These conditions, of course, have much weight in the judicious selection of coal for specific purposes.

Thus, in the anthracite, these divisions are found: Hard White Ash Coal. This coal is adapted to furnace and locomotive use, because of its property of maintaining its form under high heat and pressure. It does not kindle readily, however, and is therefore undesirable as a household fuel.

The Free-Burning White Ash variety is not adapted for metallurgical purposes or for steam generation. It has a tendency to form clinkers, when subjected to high heat. Its calorific value is greater, it ignites more readily and is better adapted for domestic consumption than the Hard White Ash coal.

The Shamokin Coal. This coal ignites almost as readily as the Free Burning. It is, (because of its lower carbon content) not well adapted to purposes where an intensely hot fire is required. It answers well for domestic uses.

Schuylkill Red Ash. This coal readily ignites and requires but little attention after the fire is started. It is particularly well adapted for use in low-down or open grates, as it makes but little dust, due to the iron content in the ash.

Treverton. North Franklin White Ash. This coal is friable and does not stand transportation well.

Lorberry Red Ash. This coal is mined in the southwestern end of Schuylkill county, Pennsylvania. It burns with little flame and is especially adapted to domestic use.

Lykens Valley Red Ash. This coal makes an ideal domestic coal. It kindles with celerity, burns with considerable flame, because of its high volatile content. It has no superior in anthracites for steam generation.

The Wyoming Red Ash. In general character, this is much like the Schuylkill Red Ash.

The Lchigh Red and White Ash coals are quite similar to each other except in the color of their ashes.

Bernice White Ash. For many years, the trade refused to consider this coal as anthracite but its chemical composition brings it within the semi-anthracite class. Because of the geographical position of the field from which this coal is derived, it is largely marketed in New York.

The bituminous coals like the anthracite, have been subdivided, and for the same reasons, into several divisions.

Among these divisions are *splint* which, as a rule, has a dull black color, though frequently intercalated with bright layers. It affords high heat, and apart from the dense smoke it gives off in burning due to its high percentage of volatile matter, it is valuable as a steam producer. Its structure is decidedly slaty. It may be said to be an intermediate between the cannel and bituminous varieties.

Cannel coal is another variety. This coal is characterized by its dull lustreless appearance and its dense and compact form. It has a very high percentage of volatile matter. A high grade cannel coal sliver can be readily lighted with a match. It is valuable for gas enriching purposes.

Coking and Non-Coking coals form two other divisions. The former, when heated in coke ovens, forms a pasty mass which later solidifies, assuming an entirely dissimilar structure from that of coal. Non-coking coals do not yield under like treatment a coherent mass. They do not fuse like the coking coals, hence the original shape of the lumps is often retained.

ANTHRACITES.

Volatile Matter,	3 to 4%
Fixed Carbon,	80 to 85%

SEMI-ANTHRACITE.

Volatile Matter,	6 to 10%
Fixed Carbon,	80 to 85%

SEMI-BITUMINOUS.

Volatile Matter,	12 to 23%
Fixed Carbon,	71 to 78%

BITUMINOUS.

Volatile Matter,	23 to 40%
Fixed Carbon,	40 to 60%

Some Illinois coals contain 12% moisture.

LIGNITE.

Volatile Matter,	37 to 45%
Fixed Carbon,	34 to 60%
Moisture,	8 to 40%

CANNEL.

Water,	1.30%
Volatile Matter,	54.40%
Carbon,	32.00%
Ash,	12.30%

 100.00

To meet the requirements of the trade, certain essential properties must be possessed to render coals adaptable, in a high degree, for specific purposes.

For steam generation, a coal should ignite quickly, burn freely without constant attention, generate a large quantity of steam rapidly. It should not form clinkers, its percentage of ash and sulphur should both be low, the former not exceeding 7% and the latter 1%. The amount of volatile matter should not exceed, say 22% which should be sufficient to cause rapid combustion. Its carbon percentage should exceed 70%. It should be sufficiently tough or tenacious to withstand the jarring incident to transportation and arrive at its destination with but little reduction in the size of the lumps.

For the manufacture of coke, a coal should contain a sufficient amount of volatile matter to supply the heat neces-

sary to complete the process of coking, without the expenditure of any of its fixed carbon. It should be high in fixed carbon and low in ash, sulphur and phosphorus and possess the property of coking. A typical specimen of the coal from which the standard Connellsville coke is made shows upon proximate analysis:

Moisture,	1.260
Volatile Matter,.....	30.107
Fixed Carbon,.....	59.616
Sulphur, .....	.784
Ash,	8.233
<hr/>	
	100.000

Gas Coals. Good gas coal is characterized by a high volatile matter content, usually from 32 to 40% which should be rich in illuminating properties. In it, the sulphur should not exceed 1%; the ash content should not exceed 6%. It should yield, under present retort practice, from 10,000 to 13,000 cubic feet of gas to the ton. Its coking qualities should be such as to leave, after the extraction of the gaseous matters, at least 60% of good merchantable coke. It should be strong enough to bear transportation well without serious reduction to fine coal.

Smithing Coal. Coals especially adapted to this purpose should have a high heating power; this requires a high carbon content (70 to 74%). It should have, say, not less than 18% nor more than 23% volatile matter. Sulphur should not exceed 8/10 of 1%, one-half (1/2) of 1% would be more desirable; the presence of a greater quantity than 1% prevents good welding. A coal high in volatile matter should never be used, if other is to be had, because the heat of a flaming forge is largely wasted.

Of late years, due perhaps to the cost of the high grade coals in some localities and proximity of coals of lower grade and price, the manufacture of producer gas has enormously increased. Low grade coals are subjected to

destructive distillation in producers and the gas is piped to the points desired. Experiments have shown, that with certain coals too poor for consumption under boilers, will, if converted into gas, have their efficiency increased two and a half ($2\frac{1}{2}$) times.

Producer gas is generated from both anthracite and bituminous coals. In many sections, in the manufacture of illuminating gas, anthracite is used, where before, bituminous coal was used exclusively. This gas is formed by blowing steam into incandescent carbon in the form of anthracite, or coke. In this process, the steam is broken up and it results in the formation of water gas which is colorless; to supply the necessary hydrocarbons to furnish illuminating power, crude petroleum or other like substances are introduced through carburetters.

Through a process known as destructive distillation, which is nothing more than the heating of an organic substance in a closed vessel out of contact with air and collecting the products, gas coal gives up gas, ammoniacal liquor, sulphur and coal tar, while coke remains in the retort as a residue.

From the ammoniacal liquor, after treatment, are obtained ammonium sulphate which is valuable as a fertilizer, smelling salts, plaster of Paris, sal ammoniac, and most of our supply of ammonia.

From the black viscid unsavory coal tar are derived dyes, flavoring extracts, perfumes, saccharin, drugs, antiseptics and disinfectants. In fact, the number of its derivatives is very great, running into the thousands.

Why coal or fuel burns?

The word fuel is derived from the Latin word *focus*, meaning a hearth or fire place.

A fuel may be defined as any substance which serves through combustion to produce heat and light. Fuel may be either solid or liquid or gaseous, as wood, peat, coal, oil, or natural and artificial gas.

Combustion is merely a process of rapid oxidation due to the chemical union of oxygen with any substance capable of oxidation through which union heat and light are developed.

To the majority of people, the cause of the burning of a substance is not clearly, if at all understood, hence a short explanation of why coal or any combustible substance takes fire will not be out of place.

Coal contains, besides other constituents, carbon, hydrogen and oxygen, unmixed, but of the latter, an amount far less than that with which the carbon and hydrogen are capable of uniting. If the coal be heated to its point of ignition, the carbon and hydrogen immediately unite with the oxygen of the air and combustion takes place; the combustible elements entering into new combinations. If combustion be complete, the results of the union of carbon and hydrogen with oxygen are, respectively, the formation of carbon dioxide and water, the latter in the form of steam and vapor. If the combustion be incomplete, carbon monoxide will also be formed.

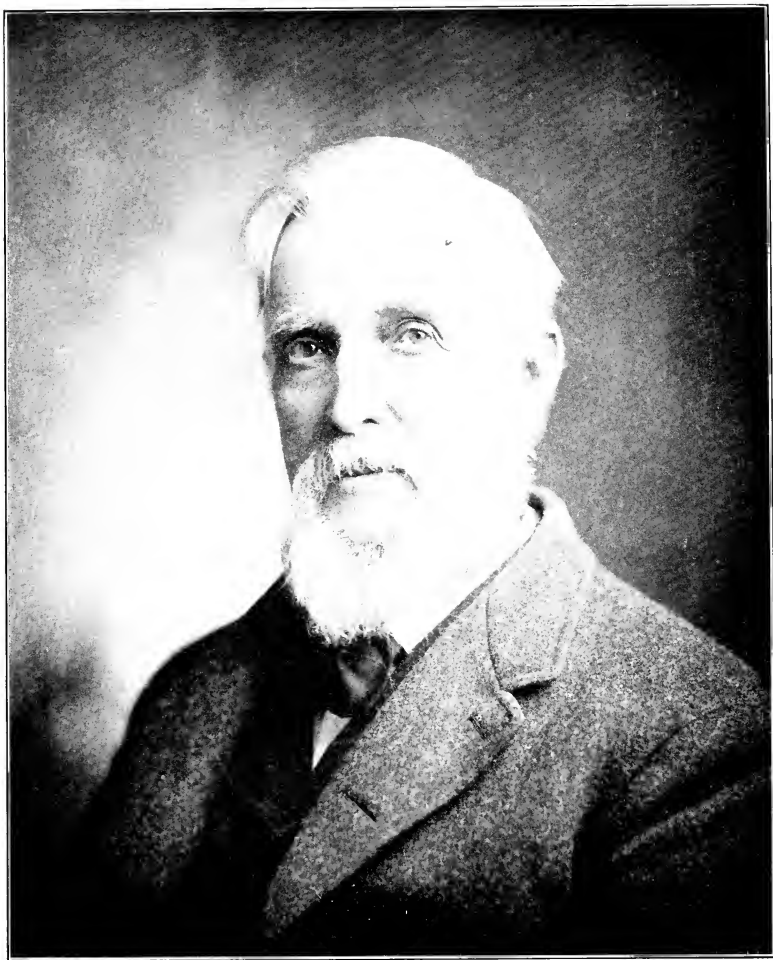
The indestructibility of matter is well exhibited in the combustion of coal. To illustrate it, let us take one hundred (100) pounds of coal and, if possible, completely burn it in a stove or furnace, then gather up what is left. We find, perhaps, that the remains will weigh ten (10) pounds, dependent upon its percentage of ash. Now, what has become of the ninety (90) pounds we find missing? They have escaped into the atmosphere in the form of carbon dioxide and vapor. If these products of combustion be collected and weighed, it will be found that they make up the difference.

It will no doubt be of interest to know how the calorific value of coal is determined. Coal men, as a rule, are all familiar with the abbreviation B. T. U. which stands for British thermal unit. This is the scale used almost exclusively in the United States. A second standard is that

of the French which is known as the calorie. It is a simple operation of multiplication and division to convert the number of British thermal units into calories. A British thermal unit is the quantity of heat required to raise the temperature of one (1) pound of water 1° F, at or near the temperature of maximum density 39.1° F.

A calorie is the quantity of heat required to raise the temperature of one (1) kilogram (2.205 lbs.) of water 1° C., at or about 4° C. A French calorie equals 3.968 British thermal units, or roughly, a B. T. U. is equal to one-quarter ($1/4$) of a calorie. (.252).

The determination of the heating value of coal is made in an apparatus known as a calorimeter, *i. e.* a heat measurer. If a calorimeter test shows that a coal contains 15,000 B. T. U., it means that one (1) pound of this coal, if its combustion be complete, should raise 15,000 pounds of water 1° F.



L. Belshing

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

By LYMAN BELDING.*

OF SOME OF HIS LIFE EXPERIENCES, TO WHICH IS ADDAD
AN APPRECIATION OF HIS WORK IN ORNITHOLOGY, BY WALTER
K. BAKER, IN THE CONDOR, OF EAGLE ROCK, CAL.

I was born June 12th, 1829, at a locality known as West Farms, on the west side of the Connecticut River, opposite Amherst College. My memory does not go back quite so far, but I have seen it so recorded in the old family Bible. A year or two later my mother and I were visiting at her uncle Lemuel Cooley's and I was put on a bed. Mother's cousin Clarissa was talking so nicely about me I pretended to be sleeping.

Presently Clarissa took me and caressed me so gently and fondly I enjoyed it greatly, and still pretended to be asleep. I hope I was excusable for being a little hypocrite. Probably some babies are less tricky than others, but you can never guess what a baby thinks or knows—or sees in its dreams.

When I was four years old I was sent to school which was near our home. Not long afterward I got my ears boxed for whispering to another little boy. After a brief spell of crying I looked up at the young lady teacher and

*Lyman Belding, in his younger years, lived in the Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania, and is still remembered by some of our older people. It seems altogether appropriate that we should make note of those who go out from among us and do creditable work in other fields; thus adding something to our knowledge of the beautiful world in which we live, and it is for this reason that this record of Lyman Belding and his work is made in our publication.

His story, which was brought to our attention by Mr. J. Bennett Smith, one of our Life Members, is published just as he wrote it, and from its very ingenuousness we can form some idea of what manner of man Mr. Belding was.

We have copied the record of Mr. Belding's work in California as an Ornithologist from the Condor of Eagle Rock, Cal., and we are also indebted to them for the half tone portrait of him which we publish. We extend our thanks to the Condor for the courtesy shown us.—C. W.

told her I did not love her. She smiled and did not try to make me love her by whipping me as some misguided teachers would have done.

Amherst College, Mount Tom, Mount Holyoke and other interesting points were in plain view of our home.

I often admired Amherst College when the sun shone on its windows. I remember looking long and dreamily from the solitude of my bedroom window at Mount Holyoke, which was obscured by straggling snow-flakes, probably the first of the winter. Meanwhile the melancholy bellowing of the cows added to the impressiveness of the occasion. There was an extensive forest on the west border of our farm in which I often wandered when I was five or six years old. And uncle and his family lived on the other side of it, a mile or two from our home.

One day I went alone, unknown to my parents, following a narrow path to my uncles, often wandering away from the path in search of partridge eggs.

I was not allowed to stop long at my uncles' but was hustled into a buggy and taken home, much to the relief of my parents. I was born with a keen sense of direction, and have never lost it. I was naturally honest but could not always resist temptation. My first act of dishonesty was when I was five or six years of age and found a handful of chestnuts in the drawer of one of my father's workmen; I ate two or three of them and went out of the room they were in, not intending to eat any more, but I soon went back and ate a few more and continued these visits until I had eaten all of them, though I struggled hard to keep away from them.

When I was about seven years old, our family moved to Kingston, Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania. The mountains surrounding the valley were well timbered, and in autumn the frost covered the foliage rich golden and scarlet, something we never see in California, excepting a few scattering

trees and plants that are tinted by the frosts of autumn in the High Sierras.

My happiest hunting days were in Autumn. The passenger pigeons were very common and their cheerful tete-tete-tete as they rattled down acorns upon which they were feeding was delicious music to me.

I have seen millions of pigeons in a single day in Spring, when, after their usual northern migration, they were driven back by a late storm.

One morning early, I was on Ross Hill, near Kingston, Pa., looking for a deer, the track of which I had seen in the snow the previous day, soon after the sun appeared millions and millions of pigeons flew south over the valley. The flight continued into the afternoon when patches of bare ground began to appear, affording the pigeons feeding ground. When driven south by cold spring storms, the north branch of the Susquehanna River was a favorite route. The following day I saw the deer I was looking for. It appeared to be pure white though I was too far from it to be positive. It swam the river and landed about a mile below Wilkes-Barre, and was shot at by two hunters who appeared to be hunting quail. It was said to have been captured in South Wilkes-Barre.

Before I got a gun I often wandered in the woods, sometimes getting home late in the evening and on one occasion my parents had looked in the open well and other places for me.

When I got a gun I was out early and late with it, neglecting school though I worked faithfully on our farm when the crops needed me, excepting, when chestnuts were ripe on the hills I would occasionally steal away and go to the hills for chestnuts.

I must have been a very unpromising boy, but was enjoying life and gaining strength and endurance, just what I needed, being naturally frail. I was in a cobbler's shop with some boy companions and told them I intended to go

west and hunt buffalo when I got big enough. The cobbler said, "You will never leave this valley as long as your head is hot." This cobbler's partner said, "A boy with a gun and a fiddle would never amount to much." I had both a gun and a fiddle. Fortunately I was an excellent reader and we had some good books.

I read with great interest Rollin's Ancient History, under Josephus' description of the capture of Jerusalem by the Romans under Titus and was especially interested in successful warring expeditions like those of Alexander the Great. I did not realize the horrors of war. Later when my sister was in Paris and wrote me of the Louvre, and also mentioned Napoleon Bonaparte I replied that I would rather have been Shakespeare than Napoleon. I no longer admired military heroes.

I read the Bible and Testament because father wanted me to. He said I need not read the Apochrypha. I subscribed for *Alexander's Messenger*, a Philadelphia weekly, which later became the *Messenger and Gleaner*. I used to watch for the stage coach the morning of its arrival and lost no time in going for it, as the post office was near home. I remember some of its crude cuts to which the reader's attention was directed as being very artistic. When I was quite young I had a box of water colors, and could draw a fine horse, deer, and other animals and objects, and my sister assisted and encouraged me by telling me I was a genius. After drawing a fine mare and colt which pleased me, I wrote on the margin of the picture;

"The colt as playful as a lamb
Espies far off its mother dam."

My sister, in my absence, added a little "n" to the "dam" which made it plain "damn."

After getting a gun I must have lost my ambition to become a great artist. I was at liberty to hunt on any land unless there was a good reason for not doing so, as the land-owners were liberal until railroads came and opened the

anthracite mines and there was an influx of foreign miners and there was much of the land which became property of the corporations.

I could imitate the winter call of the Bob White and one morning after having flushed a flock of about a dozen which flew to a rough ravine in the woods where rocks and laurel gave them hiding places, I followed, and secreted myself, and waiting a few minutes I imitated their call and one of them came running to me and I shot it. I repeated it until I had eight of them, though I consumed several hours in getting them. It was very cold with about a foot of snow on the ground and my toes and ears were frosted, which however, I did not discover until I got home by a fire. I have caught Bob Whites by falling lengthwise on my back on them and packing soft snow after they had plunged into it at the end of a flight.

When I was about fifteen or sixteen years old, I had a remarkable experience. A few other young people may have had such an experience in a milder form, that came over them gradually, but I was overcome, instantly shocked to inaction. A pretty girl's big, black eyes did it. She was sweeping off the steps in front of her home and I was going past her, only a few feet from her and I thoughtlessly happened to look in those eyes and was hypnotized. I stood still and kept gazing, until she dropped the broom and ran into the house.

I went into the fields greatly puzzled by the new sensation. I had not gone far when the cooing of a mourning dove gave me a thrill.

I avoided the girl, fearing my agitation would betray me. A few weeks later her parents moved to a distant part of the State and I saw her no more until she was nearly forty years old and her nerves wrecked by many years of school teaching. I did not suspect the nature of my *affliction*, until months later I confided in an older chum and he laughed heartily and said I was in love.

One bright moonlight night I awoke and thinking it was near morning, took my gun and went quietly out of the house, through the fields to the river a mile distant, where I kept my boat, and waited for daylight, and waited and waited, finally got tired of waiting and went back home, got into bed and finished my sleep without any of the several members of our family knowing of my adventure. When the bottom land was flooded in winter or spring, I often stayed out late with my boat. One night it was nine o'clock when I got to the landing where I found my father with a lantern and my brother waiting for me. My brother had been crying, both thinking I was lost.

When I was about sixteen years old and summer crops had been cultivated, I would take my boat and a boy companion or two, go to Harvey's Lake, camp in a lumberman's cabin at the north corner of the lake, spending several weeks there each summer. There were no trout in the lake, though formerly they were plentiful, but pickerel that were planted in the lake soon destroyed the trout. When on a winter trip to the lake, fishing for pickerel in holes in the ice, James Atherton, one of our party, told me that he had assisted in bringing twelve pickerel from the Susquehanna River, that upon catching them they packed them in snow and that all of the twelve reached the lake alive, after a journey of twelve miles. There was not a trout in the lake a few years after the pickerel were planted in it.

Harvey's Lake was a fine deep mountain lake and was mostly surrounded by virgin forest. It was about twelve miles around it.

When I and two companions camped on the lake we endeavored to find Beaver Creek, they having the instructions and being older than myself, I followed their directions, but they got tangled up in marsh ground, and after a long tramp we found ourselves back to the lake not far from where we had left it. I was not satisfied with the effort, and the following morning I went along and followed Little

Beaver down to its junction with Big Beaver and brought back a fine basket of trout but a badly sprained ankle that I got by chasing two gray squirrels which were then rare, though the black of the same species were very common. When I was a small boy, I have seen several hundred black squirrels which had been killed in hunting matches and only two or three gray squirrels were among them.

After finding the way, I often afterward fished down Little and Big Beaver Creeks and then down Bowman's Creek and instead of going back the long way we went, we would go to the lake in a nearly direct course of only three miles in length, though about half the way was through forests unmarked by anything except natural objects. A logging road led about half the way to Bowman's Creek and we learned of and tried this route, a route I often went afterward with different persons. The first time I went this way we saw about a dozen deer, mostly does, fawns, and young deer. Deer were abundant about the lake at that time. When near Bowman's Creek we stopped at a little log cabin in a small clearing to get directions. A nice young couple of mountaineers were living in it. We noticed that the floor was of thick ash boards pinned down with ash pegs instead of nails. About twenty or twenty-five years after that floor gave me my bearings. We fished down Little and Big Beaver and down Bowman's Creek until I came to a small creek that flowed into Bowman's Creek and I told my companion that was the place to start to the lake, but the forest had been cut down so much, I went to a house that had been built since I was there and inquired of an old man if there was a road to the lake. He said there was not, and I asked him how long he had lived there. He had lived there many years, but not discouraged, I went on up the Little Creek to another cabin, asked about a road to the lake, received a negative answer, but happened to notice the ash floor and pegs, told him I was in the house before when it was new and described its occupants. He said the

man was his brother, that he got killed in clearing his land soon after we, Drs. Bond and Little, and myself, saw him. The surviving brother whose name was Chrispell, said the logging road had not been used in many years, however, he would take us to it, and I said I could follow it, which I did with difficulty, large trees having grown in the road since I had been there.

Many years prior to this Samuel Sutton, my brother and myself were camped in the lumberman's cabin at the north corner of the lake and a gang of hoot owls made noise enough for a pack of wolves. There must have been a dozen or more of them in the dead trees about the cabin, the trees having been killed by girdling. I have no idea what was the trouble with the owls, but that is the only time I have heard them make such a racket. We were all sleeping on a bed of boughs and all were awakened but they were evidently terrified as I could not hear them breathe. Presently my brother said, "Lym, what is that?" I said "Sh!", and they were very quiet until I laughed and told them it was owls. A few days later we went to Bowman's Creek and fished down it, until it was too late to retrace our steps and we started for the lake through the woods with nothing to guide us. Night overtook us in a marshy ground. The bank of a brook gave us a fair camping place. Here we heard a wonderful bird song. That of a thrush undoubtedly, and I have often wondered what it could have been. I was then familiar with the songs of the Wood Thrush and Vecry. It may have been the song of the Hermit Thrush. My brother exclaimed, "That is Allen's Fife." Allen lived on the shore of the lake, but we were far from the lake. We were without matches and I started a fire by tearing some cotton batting from my vest and firing it from my shot-gun, having previously poured an unknown quantity of powder on the ground. In blowing the smoldering cotton, the powder flashed into my face and I was totally blind for some minutes but my companions went

on with the fire and cooked some trout, the only food we had. My eyes soon became normal. My last fishing excursion in that country was with James Sutton of Wilkes-Barre. We drove to Bowman's Creek with horse and buggy. Upon arriving at our destination, the owner of the small country house told us that he had only one spare bed, but would keep us if we could sleep in it. Mr. Sutton told me he feared I would not rest well, that he could not sleep, that he had taken long tramps to get very weary and thus induce sleep. I told him, judging from my experience in a whale ship, great fatigue prevented sleep. There were a few fish in Bowman's Creek, though when I fished in it many years since trout were abundant and of good size.

While I was fishing in a promising pool, I looked over my shoulder and saw Dr. Hakes waiting for me to finish the pool which I soon did and he cast into still water where I had not cast and remarked that he caught a three pound trout there some years ago.

I said we might as well sigh for the girls of our youth as sigh for three pound trout in that stream to which he laughingly assented.

In the Autumn of 1846 it was very sickly in Wyoming Valley. I was down with typhoid fever for four weeks and was delirious all of that time. When three weeks had passed I became conscious and noticed my sister and her preceptress on their knees praying for me. They said the doctors had pronounced my case hopeless and they thought I should be prepared for the great change. I said I did not want to die and thought of Hickory swale and other parts of the mountains to which I was attached. Finally, I became resigned and told my sister I had carved my name on a birch tree in Hickory swale, which shows that, almost lifeless as I was, I still yearned for fame. A yearning that vanished many years ago. I had a relapse and that fever had me in its grip a week longer until I was almost a skeleton, and was only kept alive by careful nursing. Fever

and ague and intermittent fever kept me debilitated and my doctor advised me to go on a sea voyage, and finally I shipped as a novice in an arctic whaler, but before going to sea I went to Baltimore, where relatives lived and my sister was principal of a female seminary kept by Mr. Gibson, a few miles from Baltimore, out past Catonville. Every Monday morning I would drive her out to her school and always enjoyed the scenery. I never tired of looking down on the Bay. I thought the hills around the Relay House very interesting. I stayed in Baltimore nine months, my sister having already gone to Wheeling to take charge of another female seminary before I left.

I went from Baltimore to Boston on the ship *Zion*, Captain Reynolds was master, his eldest son first mate, another son second mate, the latter was color blind; his father having told him to paint the bulwarks green, to my surprise he used paint of a very different color, but I did not correct him. Presently his father came and the two had a warm argument about the color.

I arrived in Boston about July 1st, 1851, stayed until the 5th, when I went to New Bedford. In a few days I shipped in the *Unas* which was going to the Arctic for Bowhead whales.

The shipping master wanted to know what I was going to sea for and I told him I wanted adventures that I could tell my children, and he laughed. A smart Alec. advised me to take an umbrella along. I must have looked too frail for a sailor. The most of our crew were landlubbers and when we got into the Gulf stream we ran into a severe gale. During the night all hands were called to shorten sail. It was a severe trial, for a lot of the boys hadn't got their sea legs yet, but there was no flinching. With the help of a few experienced men the work was done all right. In coming down from aloft we went cautiously from ratline to ratline until Burns, the third mate shouted to those below him: "Don't squeeze all the tar out of the standing rigging."

Just before getting to the Azore Islands we got into a school of sperm whales and killed several of them, mostly small whales.

It was hard work for me, being weak because I had not got accustomed to the food we got. In those days canned fruit and vegetables were almost unknown. Though we had a barrel or two of pickled cucumbers and onions, antidotes for scurvy. We arrived at Flores about three weeks after leaving New Bedford. The captain wanted six of the Portuguese Islanders to complete the crew. We got them at Flores and St. Michaels. While at Flores a boat came alongside with fruit and cheese for sale or trade. I traded some tobacco for a cheese that would weigh about a pound and ate it all while standing at the wheel, it being calm and our ship was *lying back*. It was probably a goat's milk cheese. Our old sailors said it was jackass cheese. After eating it I could eat almost anything and relish it, including lobscowes, dandy funk, and other nautical delicacies. I was very fond of duff, especially plum duff; the plums being dried apples. We had duff two days, two bean days, two rice days, and I think the noon of the other day was varied. When I asked to say grace because we had duff, I did so with very little originality, as follows: "Good Lord of Love, look down from above and pity us poor sinners, it's very tough we don't get duff but twice a week for dinners."

I did not use tobacco, but was advised to take several pounds with me, that it would be useful in trading with the natives. At Flores I was ashore with a boats crew and we all had tobacco which we were trading for fruit when a revenue officer came and acted so offensively, Dick Taylor of our party was about to strike him, but I interceded, having heard him say "contraband", and that single word gave me an understanding of the case. Presently an Islander who could speak English explained matters to the satisfaction of all concerned.

When we were near the island of Teneriffe we were be-

calmed, and seeing a brig a mile or two inshore, our captain lowered a boat and went alongside of it, but was afraid to go on board because of too many tough looking men on it, and the craft evidently had not been in port in a long time. Our captain was so suspicious of that brig, that as soon as he got back he set the crew to loading our muskets and had boarding pikes distributed on deck, and kept all hands on deck until a breeze took us out of the supposed danger which was not until well along in the night.

When we got down near Cape Good Hope we frightened a big East India Man. Our lookout had discovered a whale beyond her, and when we lowered three whale boats and pulled toward the big ship she began to make all possible speed and signalled to two smaller ships that were near her. That was only sixty-four years ago when there was still dread of pirates. Ships were careful in approaching strangers. Fear of pirates, and fear that their nation had become involved in war since they had news from home was reason for distrust.

The whale that was near Cape Good Hope was a big bull that made about a hundred barrels of oil, but we had trouble before we got him alongside. In sounding he took down one of the three boats that were fast to him. I and Jack Poole were responsible for the accident. In coiling a new Manilla tow line into the tub we had not taken all of the kinks out of it and when a kink caught in the cock at the bow of the whale boat the whale took it down, leaving the crew of six to cling to the oars until rescued by another boat. Stormy weather prevented us from saving the oil until nearly a week had passed; meantime many Albatross and other sea fowl gathered about the carcass and gorged themselves with blubber. Our cook amused us by tying several pieces to a common center with about three feet of string to each piece, then throwing the group of pieces of blubber where the water was nearly covered with Albatrosses. Every piece of blubber would soon be swallowed

and the birds would start to fly and would turn a somersault, others would stand nearly upright and use their wings as paddles and back away and pull the blubber out of their throats.

The cook then varied the entertainment by sawing off chunks of wood about as large as the pieces of blubber he was throwing to the birds which did not notice the difference of wood and blubber, either being swallowed readily by the various birds and as readily disgorged.

The throats of the Albatrosses were capable of great expansion and it seemed as though they would be able to swallow an infant.

Going east toward New Zealand we ran near a large school of sperm whales and all of the boats were lowered and soon fastened to whales, the others, instead of fleeing, got galled and circled around the captured whales. We killed several of them with lances; probably ten or twelve of them, but night coming on, we towed the whales that we had harpooned to the ship. By the following morning five or six whalers appeared, discovered the whales we had killed and soon had their try pots smoking. Our captain visited them to claim the whales they had found but was only laughed at because none of them had our ship's harpoons on them.

At St. Paul or Amsterdam Island we got a Right Whale and a boat load of blue fish. We then went to Hobart town, but while going into the harbor, a vessel that was coming out spoke and advised our captain not to go in, that gold had been discovered in Australia, that there was a stampede to the gold mines and ships at Hobart town had lost their crews. The Uncas was put about and we went to Munganui, a large bay in the northeastern part of New Zealand, where we took in potatoes and onions, very good ones, also excellent peaches. We then went to Bay of Islands farther south in New Zealand and remained there two or three weeks. One of the boat steerers when on shore on liberty,

suggested that we take his boat when night came on and go to the gold mines. I agreed to be one of the party, but they were drinking too much liquor; I went back to the Uncas in another boat, and a second mate, a friend of the boat steerer, took my place. They were captured the next day by Maoris and brought back to the Uncas about noon. They said that they had pulled up on land to rest and sleep and happened to be in front of a native village, and were discovered at daylight, surrounded by a circle of natives and awakened with blood-curdling warwhoops.

At Munanui I saw a gathering of about a thousand Maoris and noticed that both males and females were robust and fine physically, rarely with an exception.

On one occasion, when on liberty, a man was selling what he named spruce beer. He had put some sort of dope or drug in it that made the sailors fighting drunk and several fights occurred. I noticed a book on his bar and asked him for it. He sighed and looked pityingly and said I would not care to read it; nevertheless, he handed it to me and I found a secluded spot, sat down, read it all through and enjoyed it. It was Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* which I had not previously seen. Perhaps the man who sold the beer was a hypocrite. A shipmate, Jack Brehny, told me he was ashamed of himself for fighting a nice young fellow, a perfect stranger to him.

From New Zealand we went north to Behring Straits and passed many islands but stopped at only two of them. I think one of them belonged to the King Mills group. Three of our boats went near shore to get cocoanuts. The boats were anchored in about six feet of water and only one native allowed to approach a boat at a time for fear they might overpower us. We had loaded guns in each boat. About this time the whale ship, *George Howland*, had been captured by the convicts of Charles Island, one of the Gallipanges group, and I think other ships had trouble with natives. One bright sunny day we passed not far from an

island that was probably an Atoll. Heavy breakers prevented us from seeing anything of the island but the tops of a fringe of cocoanut trees, nevertheless, to me it was a novel and beautiful scene. We were at Guam a week. I went through an old Spanish fort accompanied by a shipmate who was a mixed blooded native of Guam. Nothing worthy of note occurred until we were at the edge of the sea of Japan and were struck by a typhoon. Our try-pots were full of blubber and boiling oil, and we lost no time in bailing it out unless the careening of the ship cause it to slop over on the deck. The gale was a brief one, but it was more violent than a white squall that struck us off the African Coast.

We found much field ice in Behring sea. That and a dense fog impeded our progress, but we arrived safely at Behring Straits about the first of July; stopped at east Cape several hours during which a boatload of Esquimaux came on board. Their boats were made of walrus hide which appeared to be very serviceable. Two of their boats were fast to a whale that took them past and near us with the crews yelling like demons. Land was covered by snow not far above the shore and it seemed a very dreary country for human beings to spend life in. We went through Behring Straights about midnight. It was my watch below, but I was so interested in the novelty of the scene, I stayed on deck. Soon after passing through the Straights our ship ran near a small field of ice on which were about a hundred walrus. The mate, Mr. Mancer, shot one without apparent result. During our cruise in the Arctic we went as far north as the 73d degree, were successful in capturing bow-head whales, several times working forty or fifty hours without sleep or rest, the sun being above the horizon continuously. It was very laborious work and very disagreeable to handle blubber, and everything was bloody or greasy and black with smoke of the try-pots. We could not get a good pull on the running gear without taking sand in hand, buckets of which were kept where most needed. A boat I

was in was smeared with blood by a large bowhead whale we were fast to. It was spouting blood and running to windward against a strong breeze which covered us with bloody spray. That whale was vicious. We were sailing and ran on to it as it came up to spout. Our boat steerer quickly threw a harpoon into it, and the whale went down head first until its tail was about two or three feet above the surface of the water, and lashed the water furiously, grazing the bottom of the boat, and knocked in the plug that was in the stern sheets of the boat allowing a stream of water to enter. The order to "stern all" soon took us out of the danger.

When the sun went down below the horizon at night we started south and went out of Behring Straights in a snow storm from the north. Many whales were also on their way to winter quarters as evidenced by their spouts on all sides of us.

Our first stop was at Petropalovski, a Russian Penal Colony. It was here first that an English and French Expedition tried to capture the place during the Crimean war but were repulsed. All three are now Allies, a significant fact. There we filled our empty water casks, got a few choice furs and with them a few voracious vermin. I write feelingly remembering the time I spent in catching the two that became attached to me. Bear tracks were plentiful by the little brook where we got water, attracted by huckleberries. A Mr. Abbott of Boston, super-cargo of a ship in port, passed us on his way down the bay. He had two Russians with short scythes and two large dogs in the boat with him. He said the dogs would bring the bear to bay and the Russians would ham-string them with their scythes, a way of hunting that would be a failure with grizzlies. I noticed that Mr. Abbott had a gun. The Uncas was nearly driven ashore one night by a gale and the boat steerer who slept on anchor watch was sent to the forecandle and I took his place as boat steerer. We went directly to Honolulu where we found about a hundred and fifty whale ships.

The most of them had been in the Arctic when we were. Not long afterward a white policeman of Kiko killed a sailor when arresting him, which so angered the sailors in port they cut down and burned down the police station and held the town two days until Mr. Allen, the American Consul, a man in whom there was general confidence, prevailed upon the sailors to resume their duties on ship-board. That was late in the year 1852, when whaling was very profitable.

When I was a boy in Pennsylvania a little coal oil was sold under the name of "Oil of Spike" as a remedy for spavin.

Sperm candles were a luxury. The general use of coal oil put a damper on the whaling business. There were four saloons in Honolulu, namely: the "Blonde" in honor of a French frigate that had visited Honolulu, the "Fore Top", the "Exchange" and one the name of which I have forgotten.. Many of the sailors were expert dancers and a few of them danced the Juba, a negro dance, in the "Blonde", to the tune of Jim's violin. Some of them enjoyed rides on the little native ponies, usually accompanied by dusky native girls. There was little or no drunkenness, as a drink of whisky cost a quarter of a dollar. The Exchange had a large dance hall with native musicians and an American as master of ceremonies. One of the dances was "Portland Fancy". Several of the Royal Family attended and enjoyed the dances. One night when most of the crew was on shore on liberty and I had charge of the ship, the third mate, Burns, had a long talk with me and told me that all the good men in the ship were going to desert it, but five or six of the incompetents could not be forced to desert, that they would stick to it, go home and draw their pay or share. He named them correctly. Burns asked me if he had not always treated me well and I told him truthfully that he had, but I had seen him knock down several of the crew and four of the inoffensive Portugese, had broken noses caused by his powerful blows. I wondered why the captain had

allowed him to be so brutal. The following season in the Arctic he was killed by a whale, so Bob McLeod the fourth mate told me. I did not intend to go to the Arctic again if I could possibly avoid it. One night when I had been on liberty, instead of going to the Uncas I went with a chum, Jack Poole, to the Ocwan of Providence where we were secreted by one of her crew. We hoped the Uncas would soon leave port, thereby giving us our freedom, but in that we were disappointed. The Uncas had a bad name and found it difficult to fill the place of the deserters. Captain James of the Uncas offered a reward of fifty dollars for my capture. I was the only one of the deserters so honored, but whether he prized my services or wanted to punish me for desertion, I never learned. After three eventful weeks of hiding I got to sea in the Julian of Martha's Vineyard, Captain Cleveland commander.

The Julian was going on a sperm cruise and would be gone four or five months. I had intended to go home and had been secreted in a brig that was going to Boston, but unfortunately her captain became ill and her sailing was delayed. My experiences in deserting are so humiliating, I hesitate to describe them and only do so because thousands of seamen are familiar with similar experiences in deserting. I spent one day in a try-pot, the kettle that would hold about five barrels of oil. I went to it before daylight with the tarpaulin raised to admit a little air. It was very uncomfortable in my cramped position lying on several angular pieces of wood which had been thrown in to keep me above several inches of bilge water, and a tropical sun made it almost unendurable, but I remained until night and when I got out of the try-pot, I could hardly stand. At another time I passed for one of the crew of the Ocean when Kikos came aboard to look for a deserter by going to aloft and pretending to be at work. I looked down and saw them take away my chum. Another time when they came I went over in the head and climbed down the anchor chain and

swam to a nearby ship where one of her crew gave me dry clothes and secreted me. During those twenty-one days I spent most of the time in the ship's holds, but usually slept in the forecastles.

My worst experience was in that brig where I lay on greasy oil casks three days without enough room to sit up. I had taken food and water into the hatch before it closed. I was next to the forecastle bulkhead and when the second mate, Hicks, told me the captain was ill and the sailing of the brig was indefinitely postponed I urged him to let me out which he did with auger and saw. At night I went back to the Ocean but my friends told me it would not be safe to remain another day and suggested that I go ashore in their boat when it went to market early in the morning, which I did. To my surprise a boat of the Uncas was close by and was also going to market. The second mate, Mr. Kecler, must have seen me, as well as his boat's crew, my old shipmates, but none of them made a sign of recognition. I pulled my hat down to hide my face, and landing, I soon went up to town, got breakfast and went to Nui Nui Valley where I spent the day. When night came on I hired a native boy to take me to my friends who took me to the Julian. A few days later the Julian went out of port and six stowaways appeared on deck. Captain Cleveland was surprised to see us and said he already had a full crew, and when night came on he would take us ashore, which was discouraging to a worn out stowaway. However, after deliberating, he started on the cruise that took us along the coast of Mexico southward to South America. At Cocos Island we took fresh water although there was a heavy swell in the little insecure harbor in the northeast part of the island. The boat I was in, the first to enter, was swamped in the surf. Judging by names of whale ships and dates of their watering cut on the rocks by a nice little brook where we got water, this had long been a favorite watering place for whalers. A small vessel was anchored

near the watering place and after filling our raft of casks, the captain and others went on board of it. It was probably one of the craft that have visited the island in search of gold which pirates are said to have buried on it, but she had berths for more men than were needed to sail her; and an abundance of cutlasses and other weapons, none of them of American make, were in her cabin. When we had nearly towed our raft to the Julian, a large row boat containing a dozen or more men came in sight on its way to the suspicious craft. We thought they might be pirates.

We failed to get any sperm oil on this cruise, but we lost one large bull whale that was probably so lean it sank. When it was struck by the harpoon it went down and came up about one hundred yards from the boat. It stood vertically, with eight or ten feet of its head out of the water and turned around looking in all directions for its enemy. We were afraid it was about to attack us. We knew that sperm whales occasionally, though rarely, attacked boats after being harpooned. We had spoken the whaler *Desdemona* and the three boats that were fast to a sperm whale crushed by it in quick succession. I had heard an old whaleman tell of a big sperm whale off the mouth of the Platte River that they called Big Bill, that was noted for crushing boats but was finally killed by throwing an empty cask in its way and while trying to crush it he was killed. Our whale towed us a short distance at a moderate gait, went down and continued at the same gait until we began to look for it to rise and breathe, but it did not rise and must have died without a flurry or death struggle, nevertheless, it towed us from four o'clock a. m. against a gentle breeze.

We were greatly mystified. The captain came to us about dusk and told us he would have a lantern placed at the mast head and to stay by the whale as long as we could see that light. We stayed two or three hours longer than we were directed to stay and then cut loose from our mystifying whale. Some of the men in the boat accounted for the

mystery by declaring that killers were at work on it. Our navigator said that there was an undertow or undercurrent that carried it to the windward.

We stopped at Abbingtion Island, one of the Gallegagos group, for terrapin. We got one that would weigh about a hundred and fifty pounds, which we quartered for convenience in getting it to the beach. I noticed shells of several that had long been dead. The only bird I saw on the island was a pretty ground dove that was so unaccustomed to men its tameness was shocking to me. (See Robinson Crusoe).

There was very little soil or vegetation on the island; a species of cactus, probably an opuntai, was quite common. It had a treelike trunk of a foot or more in diameter and so little hold on the rocks I pushed several of them down with my harpoon handle.

The island was of comparatively recent volcanic origin. I tried to explore a cavern that led toward the beach. The roof was of molten rock. The cavern was roundish, allowed me to stand upright and it descended gradually to the beach. I went on until I could no longer see anything ahead of me, when I threw pieces of rock and heard them strike I advanced, but presently I threw and there was no sound from the stones and I retreated. Evidently there was an abyss, a dark and undoubtedly deep abyss.

We had divided into parties of four. The party to which I belonged returned to the beach about noon. Two of the party arrived a few minutes before my companion and I did. We found Hayes and Crowell who preceeded us excited. We asked for an explanation. They had followed a low, narrow path into a dense patch of willows that was thickly overgrown by vines. Thinking they might find turtle in the thicket they had gone in, bending low, for both were six footers, until they disturbed a bunch of sea lions which came rushing out close to their heels. We laughed at them and Crowell said to me; "If you are so brave, I will show

you a sea lion you can tackle." I followed him a short distance until we came to one that was sleeping on the shore about fifty yards from the water. I got between it and the beach and Crowell started it toward me. It came on, swaying from right to left, but when it got near me and showed its anger and big teeth, I dodged out of its way and then it was Crowell's turn to laugh. I had made a mistake in getting between it and the water. It would weigh half a ton and had a ferocious growl when it got near me and I had smelt its breath when it was within a few inches of me. I killed three of them after that by starting them and running up behind them. Captain Cleveland censured me mildly for wantonly killing them. He was a gentleman, and his crew, most of whom were reared in Martha's Vineyard, was a good one, but neither his mate or his second mate could either read or write, a strange fact, that two New England men, past middle age, should be content to remain in ignorance.

On the coast of South America we captured about twenty blackfish, the largest of which yielded about ten barrels of oil. While chasing a school of blackfish which kept close together, our boat-steerer harpooned one that kept on with the school but quickly turned in the opposite direction, nearly upsetting the boat. He soon cut the line that endangered us. That day we got about a dozen blackfish. After killing them we put small flags on them and left them until evening when we towed them to the ship. Shovel nosed sharks had bitten huge pieces from the backs of most of them. We returned to the Sandwich Islands after a cruise of four or five months and anchored at Hilo where we stopped about a month. While taking fresh water, about a dozen Kanaka girls came and jumped off nearby cliffs, going down erect, but quickly after striking the water they would pop up almost clear of it. These cliffs must have been nearly a hundred feet above the water. While the girls were showing their skill and daring, a native was riding a surf board

in the breakers near us. The natives early in life become expert swimmers. I have seen mothers teaching their children to swim before they could walk. After a storm, during which captain was on shore awaiting for the surf to subside, there was a call for volunteers to man a boat to bring him to the ship. I, with others, volunteered, and got capsized in the surf. The bow of our whaleboat got too far over the surf, dipped into still water and the boat turned a somersault pinning one man under it. I saw one of his legs, grabbed it and pulled him out, his mouth full of sand and salt water.

From Hilo we went to Lahaina, Island of Maui, stayed a day or two and went to Honolulu, soon after which the Julian went to the Arctic. I left her, though Captain Cleveland wanted me to go with him. I got no pay for what I did on the Julian and my wardrobe was nothing to boast of. This was in the spring of 1853. I shipped in the bark *Philomela* of Portland, Maine, Captain John Glover, commander and owner. She was what the sailors call an old "tub". Her sails were old, patched and rotten, which made plenty of work for her crew. From Honolulu we went to Callao and from there to Chincha Islands near the Peruvian coast to the southward for a cargo of guano. The ballast was brought to the ship from the island in a lighter that held four tons. When brought to the ship it was put in the hold which had been prepared with a layer of sacks to prevent its coming in contact with the sides of the vessel and getting wet by salt water. Every morning at four o'clock I took the lighter with two men to row and took my turn for a load of guano which was sent from the rocks in a large canvass chute. The guano on the rocks was at least one hundred fifty feet deep not far back from the landing place. When the ballast was completed, the ship was taken to a larger canvas chute, the hatches removed, and a stream of loose guano was turned into the ship's hold.

Two gangs of Peruvians shoveled the guano back from

the hatches. They took turns in doing their work because no person could endure the fumes of ammonia many minutes. They changed gangs every fifteen or twenty minutes. Before going down in the hold they bound tarred oakum over their nostrils. The laborers on the island were Chinese who were very cruelly treated by the whip bearing overseers. I heard a group of American captains express great sympathy for those Chinese. It was disgraceful to Peru to allow such cruelty.

At Pisco Bay, while on an excursion, I noticed a large cross had been made by digging trenches apparently, well up on the mountain overlooking the bay, said to have been made to protect boats from the storms on the bay. We pulled the boat up on the shore and I was left in charge of it while the others of our party went along the coast on an exploring expedition. What appeared to be a very large bird which I thought must be a condor alighted on what appeared to be a medium sized tree on a hill. I soon flushed the bird which was no larger than our crow, the supposed tree was only five or six feet tall, the hill was only a small pile of sand and it was a fraction of the distance from me that I thought it was. I had never been so mistaken as to distance and size. The glimmering, quivering atmosphere such as I have seen on the Atlantic coast in Indian summer was probably what deceived me. Ordinarily I was a good judge of distance and size.

Our crew when we left Honolulu was a good one, consisting mostly of Swedes and Americans who mostly deserted at Calloa.

On the homeward voyage our crew was Swedish mostly. I was interested in their books, especially in the tales of Anderson, the Danish author. I learned to read them in the Swedish language. I enjoyed Anderson's Ugly Duck story and numerous of his other stories. Also the Norse Saga of Fridtiof the Strong.

A few days before we started for New York, Captain

Glover asked me if I was going to desert. I told him I intended to go home with him and he said he would take my word, that he was going up to Lima to be gone three days and would leave the ship in my charge, he would leave his books and instruments in the cabin where I could have use of them. He wanted me to study navigation and go with him on another voyage. I did not tell him the fact that I was tired of a sailor's life.

I had eaten a variety of delicious fruits in the tropical islands, but none of them equaled the cheremoys which I first tasted on the coast of Peru. We were at the Chincha Islands in the summer of 1853 when the American clipper ship was in its glory. Several large, fine clipper ships were taking cargoes of guano. The *Defiance* was probably superior to any. In those days, New England sailors were numerous and inferior to none. Scandinavians and English were also good sailors. We were anchored in forty fathoms of water at Callao and were said to be over a part of Callao which sank during an earthquake. I was shown where a Spanish frigate had been carried by intrushing water during the earthquake far above the present beach and left there.

We started for New York in fair condition, though the ship leaked a little and the sails were patched and rotten. We were not out long before we were compelled to pump half the time.

When off the coast of Chile the pump got choked with guano and we became alarmed, fearing the guano would absorb enough water to sink us. The captain and I went down in the hold to make an observation but the fumes of the ammonia soon drove us on deck. About four tons of guano was thrown overboard, when the pump was cleared and remained so until the end of the voyage. The added leakage was caused by carrying too much sail in a rough sea.

Pumping by hand was tiresome work, and having only five men in a watch and not getting watch, and watch below,

over-worked the crew. Our salt beef was hardly fit to eat. It had a foul odor. The brine was bloody and the fat had gone into a solution of jelly in the bottom of the barrel, and the remaining beef looked like unpolished mahogany. When going around Cape Horn, a strong wind was with us and the billows were higher than any I had ever seen. When steering the ship I remember looking back over my shoulder at billows that threatened to engulf us. They would break over the stern and I would often be in cold water up to my knees and they would sweep the deck from stern to stem. However, we got around the Horn without accident and had an uneventful voyage until we got near New York when there was a sudden change in the weather. A gale from the northwest brought rain, sleet, and finally snow. It was severe on us lately from the tropics. We furled our sails and drifted. We were off Sandy Hook and drifted seaward all night and well into the afternoon of the following day when a tug came and offered to tow us into New York but demanded an unreasonable sum for doing so. We were helpless and finally our captain agreed to the terms. We got into New York on the evening of January 4th, 1854. I and two of my shipmates went to the Bowery theatre to see *Uncle Tom's Cabin* played by the Howards and others, little Cordelia Howard making an excellent Eva. I noticed tears in the eyes of both my companions and there may have been tears in mine, but I had learned to be stoical in a theatre, and I had often seen John E. Owens play *Crimson Crimes* of dreadful note, and other mirth-producing after pieces without as much as a smile. I soon started for home, sixty miles of it being by stage coach, a long chilly ride over Pocono Mountain. When I reached Kingston not one of about a thousand inhabitants, not even my parents knew me.

Excepting for chillblains caused by the chilly, drenching fogs of Kamchatka and Arctic Ocean, I had not an ailing of any sort since I ate the "jackass" cheese, probably I was

benefitted by sea air, a sailor's work and plain food. I learned on that voyage the benefit of a plain life, that a struggle for wealth was folly, that a man should be his own master, but to be so, more or less money was needed. I believed that I should have about five thousand dollars. At that time there was what seemed to be an inexhaustible supply of fertile prairie land in the Middle West. Later I fixed on ten thousand dollars as the sum I needed, and and having acquired it, I retired from business, but in three or four years I discovered I needed more. I came to California in the Spring 1856, when interest was very high, but it kept being lowered and a larger capital was required. From 1871 to 1875 I added twenty thousand to my capital and then quit business, but I have needed all the income I have gotten from it, which shows the change that has taken place in about sixty years.

When I was a small boy I heard the young folks at their social gatherings sing: "We will settle on the banks of the pleasant Ohio." Later another popular song invited immigrants telling them: "Uncle Sam's rich enough to give everyone a farm", and there was a song of: "An Indian who came from Missouri's far distant domain to the land where his fathers in battle were slain." The first song I heard more than eighty years ago while living in Massachusetts. The second and third I heard in Pennsylvania a few years later when the fertile prairie land of the Middle West seemed almost inexhaustible. There were a few settlers in Oregon, but the gold mines of the west had not been discovered. California was part of Mexico and then there was very little gold in circulation. "Shin plasters" of small denominations and uncertain redemption were in circulation. Men worked on a farm for ten dollars a month the year through, but they ate at the family table, slept in good beds and were treated as equals. Often they were sons of neighbors. I was shocked when I saw a man, who had worked for me, with a roll of blankets, who said that

he was going to Sutter County to work on a ranch and that it was customary in California for a laborer to furnish his bed and that they slept in barns, haystacks, or any other convenient place.

In the Summer of 1854 I went to New Bedford; after which I went to New York where I shipped in a vessel "The Crisis" for Baltimore. When off Cape Henry a small squall struck her aback, and after nearly going over with her larboard side under, she went down on the starboard side, leaving our only boat where we could launch it. A hatch off, and the Crisis sank rapidly, so rapidly I left the hull and went out in the rigging. On my way out I took a small floating chicken coop with me. One of the sailors, an Englishman, who like myself thought the ship would soon disappear called to me that he would go halves in it, and he joined me, although the coop would not float one of us. Noticing that the Crisis was no longer sinking rapidly we went back, and with the help of other men, we launched the boat and got into it and counted its occupants. One of the crew was missing and we called in unision for him, but no response was heard. It was very dark, excepting when occasional flashes of lightning suddenly changed darkness into light, but the missing man was gone. The ship floated an hour or more and then went down head first leaving eight men in an open boat on the west side of the Gulf Stream without oars, compass, water or food. As wreckage floated to us from the wreck I picked up several short pieces of wood for paddles and when a mattress came, I cut it open and saved the covering for a possible sail. When my stout leather trunk came within reach, I looked in it for a belt that contained forty or fifty dollars but found it not. The lid of the trunk was off as though it had been done with a knife. The sea was rough after the wind had subsided and care was required to prevent the boat from being swamped. The English sailor and I used our paddles to make the boat ride the waves. The others lay in the bottom of the boat

all night. The captain and mate told of other wrecks and how Brother James and others lost their lives; a recital that was not encouraging, situated as we were. When the sea became quiet and calm I suggested that all paddle toward Chesapeake Bay but no one responded. As soon as it began to get light enough to see a possible rescuing ship, I stood up in the boat and thought I saw one, but not being certain sat down. The English sailor had watched me and soon arising, shouted "Sail, Ho!" glad tidings for all in the boat. A large ship, the *Hermine* of Bemen, two or three miles south of us was making sail and starting on her cruise to Europe. The covering of the mattress was waved from a pole about ten feet in length, the pole composed of pieces of siding from the house of the *Crisis* which were tied together with strips of the mattress but no one on the *Hermine* appeared to see us. We then took to our paddles and succeeded in reaching her but were not seen by those on board until we were within a short distance of her. We were hoisted on board, given breakfast, after which I lay on deck and slept.

A few hours later we spoke an American ship which was on its way to New York and our boat was lowered and we went on board of it and landed in New York with scant raiment and penniless.

During a long life, much of it having been spent in the field with a gun and trout rod, I had few accidents, but no very serious ones. When a boy I upset in a sailboat with two companions early in the spring when the water was cold. We floated down stream about two miles, and nearing an island in the Susquehanna, we swam to it, a difficult task, chilled as we were.

Several times I got lamed and bruised by falling on rocks while out fishing for trout on mountain streams and several times was in danger from my haste and eagerness to reclaim ducks shot and which fell in deep water.

My most serious accident came from bursting a shot gun

which broke my nose and filled my eyes with blood from slight wounds on my forehead and cheek, and I was then in a small crank boat that I had dragged nearly half a mile to a slough where many ducks and geese were flying. The shock knocked me senseless for a short time but fortunately I dropped to the bottom of the boat without upsetting it. When I became conscious, I found so much blood running from my nose that I was alarmed, and I closed my nostrils and kept very quiet until the blood clogged and ceased flowing, although it was raining.

After waiting about a half hour I rowed gently toward Stockton, landed and walked about three miles to Stockton, carrying the game I had killed which included four honkers and several ducks. A doctor came and while he was sewing up the wounds and splintering my nose, my brother said he guessed that would end my hunting. On the contrary, I was out hunting water fowl before my nose was half healed.

That occurred in the winter of 1857. Several times my horse got stuck in tenacious adobe mud and I and a companion would be compelled to get out in mud knee deep, break off boards from the fence along the road, lift the buggy wheels and shove the boards under our feet. Richard Ridgway, uncle of Robert Ridgway the distinguished ornithologist, and I had such an experience about a week before he was killed by his partner at Reynold's Ferry. I have always regretted that I did not go with him according to his invitation to the Ferry on the Stanislaus River for a quail shoot. I might have saved his life. I did not know that he expected trouble and doubt if he did expect any. I missed him greatly. We hunted together and played duets from operas. He was a very pleasant companion.

I came to Stockton, California, the last of March, 1856. Game was abundant, including elk, antelope, deer, bear, quail, and water fowl; beaver and otter were common. Elk have disappeared from the interior valleys of the State excepting a drove on the Miller and Lux ranch of about

forty thousand acres in San Joaquin Valley and these are being captured and distributed to various parks. The elk of this State inhabited the tule marshes mainly, although I have seen many elk horns in the Marysville Buttes, probably left there by elk which came there from the marshes of Butte Creek. I have seen hundreds, if not thousands, of elk horns on the border of the tule swamps north of Stockton; antelope have entirely disappeared from Sacramento and the San Joaquin Valleys. I saw three a few miles west of Princeton in the summer of 1870. George Meek shot one of them at a distance of five hundred yards as we estimated. His third or fourth shot from a Henry rifle killed it, but it was so far from him he did not see it fall though he was on the plains. I was perched on a high seat of a farm wagon and saw it fall. I saw a single antelope in Lower California about twenty-five miles south of Tia Juana, in the spring of 1887. Deer were mostly in the mountains with a few along the rivers where there were extensive thickets on bottom lands. They will continue to be common with proper attention. Very little of their range will ever be cultivated owing to the great altitude and soil that is not suited to cereals; I refer mostly to the Sierra Nevadas. I have only seen a few bears in the forest, probably about twenty and only one undoubted grizzly bear. This I saw in the summer of 1875 when I was fishing on the San Antonio Creek near the Calaveras grove of sequoias. It crossed the stream below and near me and I had a good view of it. The owner of a drove of sheep that ranged in the vicinity told me he had seen it too. I have been very near many bears but they would slip away unseen. Several of those I have seen was when I was in the saddle. The only one I ever shot at was between the middle fork of the Stanislaus River and Beaver Creek when I had two wire cartridges in my shotgun. My horse wheeled when I shot and the bear ran in the opposite direction to a dense thicket which I did not enter.

While I was collecting specimens at Crockers I tried to get a shot at a large bear which was feeding in a meadow. It was feeding on a plant that grew on the border of a rivulet that flowed through the meadows. He had not seen me, and I went to the edge of the meadow, put buckshot in my gun and waited for it to turn to give me a shot into its vitals. It was slowly coming with its head toward me. It had been raining and the ground was so wet I could not get a comfortable position and my knees trembled. It was a very huge bear. The nearer it came to me, the more I realized its size. I had so much time to think as it was slowly coming to me, for the rivulet it was feeding along came directly to me. I remember the only two buckshot shells I had were not to be relied on as they were old, had made several sea voyages with me, and I concluded not to shoot at the bear. When he was about fifty yards from me, he must have smelled me as he turned broadside to me, sank on his haunches, held one paw out pointing upward at an angle of about forty degrees, cocked its ears forward and sniffed several times, and I was greatly relieved when it leisurely walked off toward the river. I went down to the hotel and got young John Crocker to go with his rifle and help get that bear. We took its track which we followed until we thought further search useless. Captain Crocker told me he had an exciting experience in that meadow. He saw a young bear cub which he caught and the cub with its cries soon brought its mother which chased the captain around a tree. I know the genial captain lived many years afterward but I have forgotten how he escaped from that bear. I believe his brother was near him and had a gun.

There was a large grizzly bear known in a large part of Northern California named Club Foot, from an injury it had probably received in a trap or by a bullet. It ranged from Mt. Shasta south a long distance, but after the Southern Pacific Railroad was built I doubt if it ever went south of the snow-shed between Truckee and Blue Canyon.

The Williams brothers who had a dairy at the ice lakes near Summit Station had one of their cows killed by Club Foot in the autumn of one of the early 1870's. Their herd had a range north of the snow-shed toward Castle Peak. They built a platform in a tree near the carcass, expecting the bear to return to it, and invited me to take my shotgun and go with them and watch that bear. I agreed to do so, but when they came along in the evening I declined to go because it was a cold, October night. They went, but Club Foot did not return. Later I heard of his being about Weber Lake and other parts further north, but doubt if he ever came as far south as the railroad after that. I suspect there was more than one clubfooted bear in California, for it was not likely one bear should range from Mt. Shasta to Santa Barbara as had been reported of Club Foot.

One of my favorite hunting localities was Summit Soda Springs on the north fork of the American River. Mark Hopkins built a residence there when he was nearly worn out with work connected with the Central Pacific Railroad Company. He told me he wanted to get ten miles from a railroad or telegraph office, but his habits of thoroughness made a slave of him. When driving on a fairly good road that led to the railroad, if he noticed a stone or moderate size in the road, he would get down and throw it out. He spent a great deal of his time when at the Springs in building a stone wall about his residence and barn. He was opposed to waste. Mr. M., one of the Central Pacific Company, told me that Mr. Hopkins attending a meeting of colored people in Sacramento, gave them \$1000, and noticing some blotters on the floor, picked them up and asked if he could have them. The colored folks felt badly rebuked for the trifling waste. Mr. Hopkins was a very deliberate and excellent talker. A lady told him that I was subscribing for the Sacramento Union, a newspaper edited by Samuel Seasbough and a thorn in the side of the Central Pacific Railroad. Mr. Hopkins asked me into his office and spent

more than an hour explaining difficulties they had met and others they had still to meet. I finally told him I was not an enemy to his road, but I would advise him to keep the road out of politics, and he said he intended to do so.

Game was abundant about the Spring and deer came every night to drink of the iron water. There was plenty of quail and grouse shooting and plenty of trout in the river. On the Middle Fork there was good trout fishing and numerous bears. Henry Milgate lost so many of his sheep by bears that he drove them over to North Fork, although he had killed six bears by setting a gun in such a manner that a bear getting to the bait discharged the gun, but every one of the six bears went off a short distance and died with a piece of the meat in its mouth he told me. One day he and I hunted deer near Soda Springs and I was astonished at the intelligence shown by his faithful shepherd dog which he had taken with us. When we were on a ridge, that overlooked a valley, he sent his dog over to the opposite ridge, a distance of more than a fourth of a mile and told the dog to bring us deer. We could see the dog searching the scrub oaks and shrubbery until, after what seemed a long wait, he brought a deer to his master.

There was a very large porcupine at the Summit kept in a cage several months. It was very fat, but I neglected to notice the food that was given him. Many of the coniferous trees in the Sierras had their bark partly eaten by porcupines. This one died while I was at the Summit and I saw it weighed by Joseph Gowling then and now the owner of the hotel. It weighed sixty pounds. Several persons saw it weighed.

Beaver and otter were plentiful in the sloughs and tule marshes about Stockton. Beaver built houses on the marshes as the musk rats do on the marshes in the prairies of the Middle West. There were several of these beaver houses within three miles of Stockton. They were on land that floated, as much of the peat land does in the tule

swamps around Stockton. I shot seven beaver one day in the flood of 1861 and 1862. I would jar the houses and watch for their cautious appearance to ascertain the cause of the disturbance. They would approach under water to within a few feet of me, just as I had seen muskrats do when I was a boy, and the only evidence of their presence would be a little circular wave caused by breathing with only the tip of their noses even with the surface of the water.

A few beaver about Marysville burrowed in the banks of the rivers. Beaver and otter became scarce long ago. Several years ago a game keeper for one of the Stockton Clubs said that there were a few beaver on the club grounds. Frank Stephens wanted to get specimens of beaver for Dr. Merriam and I was trying to help him. I went to Marysville to reside early in October, 1862. Small game was abundant. Myriads of ducks and geese came from the north and east of the Sierras in October and November. Butte Creek attracted most of them. The wood duck was very common on Feather River and was a constant resident. It is now, as in the country, quite rare. Mountain plover appeared on the plains in October. At present it is apparently on the verge of extinction. It was formerly abundant on the plains and foothills about Stockton. It appears stupid, with little fear of the gun.

Sand hill cranes were abundant on the plains when I came to Stockton. The first one I shot gave us a surprise. It was wounded and when I attempted to pick it up, it sent its long bill with astonishing velocity toward my face, which it almost reached. I have seen flocks of two or three dozen on the plains run in a circle, leap high and scream, and apparently they enjoyed the combined circus and fandango.

There were a few deer along Feather River below Marysville and a few in the Marysville Buttes. Mountain quail came down from the mountains near Oroville and other localities on the eastern border of the valley to spend the

winter. I often hunted geese on Butte Creek and many times have tried to get the adult Blue Goose (*Coerulesoens*) but never succeeded so far as to be satisfied with the result. In a Stockton market which Mr. Shaw kept, I found the head and wings and feet of two. I sent these to Mr. Ridgway who identified the fragments that I sent as "*Coeruleseons*". They attracted all the hunters that saw them here. They were certainly different from any of the millions of geese I had seen. My favorite hunting ground about Marysville was at the foot of Stanfield Hill on the Downieville road. Both species of quail were numerous in winter and it was usually above the winter fogs of the valley when the Coast Range of mountains seemed to be the western border of a great sea. The peaks of the Marysville Buttes appeared to be a group of islands. I often went there alone, and when the roads were bad, I would go on horseback, and usually at such times stayed at the country hotel a week or more. My horse would allow me to shoot from its back, or if I dismounted, would follow me like a dog. Once while I was riding him through chapparal, he stopped, pointed his ears forward, and attracted my attention to a flock of quail that were running on the trail ahead of him. No dog could have told me better than he did. About the first of August, 1870, I went with a party of Sutter County farmers to Stony Creek and the north fork of Eel River in the Coast Range. We arrived at Salt Creek too late to find a spring of good water. It had been very warm during the day, 116 degrees in the shade at a store we passed, and a dozen or more of the children had drunk all the water in our kegs and canteens.

George Meek and Henry Best started up the mountain for water during the night. They went on foot about five miles on the steep mountain road until they found a spring and brought some that was much needed in camp. As soon as it was light enough Herndon Barrett and I saddled our horses and went up the mountain, past where Meek and Best

had got the water because it was alive with wrigglers, and a dead, badly decayed sheep was on one side of the little pool. We all camped by a nice little spring, stayed there three or four days, after which the party, except myself, went on to Bear Wallow Spring at least 1500 feet above the north fork of Eel River. I remained at the camp to guard food for animals, having been crippled by falling on rocks in Stony Creek while fishing for trout. I was alone two days. Hornets and yellow jackets swarmed about the camp and their actions were very interesting. Table refuse, scraps of meat and bones would be covered with yellow jackets, and hornets would hover over them and a single hornet would suddenly swoop down, seize a yellow jacket with its legs and fly away to its nest with a feast for its young, and this was repeatedly continued without the least resentment being shown by the yellow jackets, and they were twice as numerous as the hornets. Occasionally, a yellow jacket would break loose from its captor and come back to feed as if nothing had happened.

The woods were so full of these pests that when we killed a deer and removed entrails, we closed the cavity by pinning it together with wooden pegs or sticks. We jerked the meat of twenty-three deer, and in doing so, laid the strips of meat on a platform underneath which we kept a smudge to keep away the flies, hornets, and yellow jackets. There was a very annoying black gnat which tormented the horses so badly that two of our dozen or more horses ran back to the valley. They would attack the belly and under part of the neck and a horse would use its feet to dislodge them, and in doing so, would scrape off the hair and leave the attacked part raw. Rattle snakes were abundant, and as nights were very warm and we slept on the ground, they were worth considering. The woodchoppers made their beds on platforms beyond the reach of the snakes. Aside from these drawbacks, the region was a sportsman's paradise, plenty of trout and deer. It was difficult country to hunt and fish in,

the trout was not less than fifteen hundred feet below our camp and it required great endurance to go down, follow a rugged stream and get back to camp. I did most of the fishing for the party. One morning Mr. Bacon, a Sutter County farmer, went down with me. He lost his footing on a long gravel slide and shouted lustily for help and I tried to get to him and ascertain the cause of his trouble. Finally I found him unharmed, fishing in the river, and I went below and began to fish. Soon two medium sized male deer crossed the river and I shot one of them, cleaned it and hung it up in a bunch of madrone trees. Bacon came up and looked at the deer, said that I would never find it if I left it there. I called his attention to a prominent rock on the opposite side of the river as a certain guide to it. Bacon never ventured down the mountain again, but went back with his wife to his farm near Yuba City where all our party belonged, except myself. One day, Barrett, Ogden, Meek and myself went across the canon and camped six or seven miles from Bear Wallow Spring. Each of us got a deer, but mine was so lean and scraggly I did not think it worth while carrying it to camp. When we got back to the river I fished for trout for our lunch. Meek started first toward camp with his deer, a buck of about one hundred pounds, and I followed him by the edge of a long, gravel slide and when I had nearly overtaken him I heard him shoot. I found him with his back against the tree, his deer partly resting on the ground, looking across the gravel slide. He said he had shot a large California lion, which with its two cubs had put its feet on a log attracted by the scent of the deer that he was carrying. We found it, a large, deep chested, strong limbed, dark colored animal, seemingly different from several I had seen farther south in this State. We skinned it and went the long, difficult climb to camp with it and the deer. We spent a month on that trip during which we got twenty-three deer, a lion, several grouse and an abundance of trout. The grouse and the trout having

been taken by myself. I spent more time in fishing than hunting. When returning to Yuba City we went down several steep hills, we attached a medium sized pine tree to the rear of each of the wagons, clipping off the limbs to make them more serviceable in holding.

I retired from business in 1875, after which I hunted, fished for trout, spent my summers in the Sierras, and always took my shotgun and a trout rod with me. I often went to a deer lick and watched, occasionally getting a deer, and always enjoyed being in the woods at night, alone usually, but one night a boy of seven or eight years wanted to accompany me, and his mother, a guest at Big Trees, seemed desirous that he should go and I consented to his going. It was only a mile down the ridge and there was a wagon road nearly all the way. Arriving at the lick I sat on the ground behind a tree on the lee side of a salt log. The little boy and shepherd dog, my companions, were near me, and both were soon sound asleep. It was a lovely moonlight night, not a noise of bird, insect, or animal until the crackling of a dead stick told me of the approach of a deer, a medium sized buck that stopped in the bright moonlight. I shot it but it did not fall and went back to the thick brush toward a steep canyon; the young dog following and barking, I and the little boy followed as well as we could. The boy was an encumbrance though a manly patient little fellow named Stephens of Oakland. I finally found the dog on top of a fallen log moving back and forth, but after a brief search I gave up trying to find the deer in the dense forest. Next morning I found it near where I had been the previous night. On another occasion, when I was at Summit Station on the Southern Pacific Railroad I took a boy of about ten years with me. Arriving at a dense thicket on the mountain I went to the opposite side of it and told him to come through the thicket to me. He drove a nice fawn to me which I shot. This was when it was not illegal to shoot fawns and does.

Returning to the station, I put the fawn on his back and he proudly carried it to his mother, a Mrs. Dr. Ingerson, of Sacramento. Several boys of his size, envious youngsters, did not want him to feel too good, and they shouted: "You feel big, you feel big." His mother was greatly pleased and said her boy had grown a foot since morning. The following day I took him to a good deer country and got a fine, four pronged buck, which he drove out of the thicket to me. The third day I got a fine fawn, five or six grouse, and about a dozen mountain quail. To my regret, the boy and his mother left the station the next day. He helped me trace deer to the thickets. He was a natural hunter. When his mother got back to her home, she wrote and thanked me for the pleasure I had given her boy. I replied that I missed him greatly, his pleasant companionship and his assistance in helping to trace deer, as he termed it, that he would go in a thicket and drive game out even if there were a bear in it.

Game gradually became scarcer in the high Sierra Nevadas as sheep and hunters became more numerous. Deer avoided a range where sheep pastured. It was thought proper for anyone in the mountains, whenever they needed meat, to kill a deer, and the Indians were free to kill them at any time, on the venerable theory that an Indian had the right because of his needs, forgetting that the Indian no longer used the bow and arrow, but instead of it had the repeating gun and was often expert in its use. I suggested to Mr. Sherwood, president of the California Game and Fish Commission that the Indians should be treated just as other people were in the matter of killing game, and from about that time, the Indian was treated as a "person." I had seen Washoe Indians from Nevada, on their way home from a hunt in California, have six deer carcasses, besides jerked venison in unknown quantity, and numerous grouse lying on the wharf at Tahoe City, and a white man was prohibited from killing it. About a hundred Washoe Indians had spent

two winters in Calaveras County and nearly exterminated the deer. Mr. Williams told me that he bought twelve hundred skins from them. Other dealers probably bought as many more. I encountered these Indians a great deal when I was on fishing excursions, and often passed their camps, and often, early in July, saw very young fawn skins in their possession they had taken while on their way back to Nevada. One of the Indians was killed at Blood's when he tried to steal the bait from the dead-fall of a bear trap. Mr. Blood told me that it made the Indians very angry and that he had difficulty in appeasing their wrath. They were as destructive to trout as they were to deer apparently in small streams, as they used soap root (*chlorogaeum*) to stupify and kill the trout, and in doing so killed most of the young fish. These streams contained no trout or other fish on the west slope where the altitude was over 3500 feet, until they were stocked by white men. I had stocked and helped stock several streams including part of the Moke-lumne, North Fork of the Stanislaus and others. In the South Fork of the Mokelumne there was a fall of ten or twelve feet, too great a fall for trout to climb. I caught eighteen trout from the foot of the fall and released them in the water above where I stood and none of these eighteen seemed to be injured by the No. 8 fly hooks I used in catching them. In several experiences I was invariably successful, always using a medium sized fly hook and I probably never lost a trout I had caught from injury caused by the fly. I had one lot of forty in a barrel part of two days.

When trout were spawning and ran up the small streams that flowed into Lake Tahoe, the Washoe Indians made bough houses over the streams and speared many tons of trout to the detriment of fishing in the lake and Truckee River. Several citizens at Tahoe City asked me to write to Mr. Sherwood and tell him of conditions at the lake and ask him and the Fish Commissioners to establish a hatchery, which was done, and the Indians were made to observe the

California laws. The Washoe Chief protested and said: "We always caught fish here before white man came, white man cut down pine trees, Indian no more get plenty of pine nuts." However, he agreed if he and his party of males and females could fish freely for three days they would never again ask to kill trout in spawning time.

Deer and mountain quail along the east slope of the Sierra Nevadas at the approach of winter returned to the west slope. Sometimes early, heavy snows caught and killed them partly, especially adult deer which deferred migration longer than the immature. I remember a winter when so many deer were killed by a storm our legislature prohibited deer shooting for two or three years. Grouse do not migrate; they and mountain quail hatch their young partly, if not mostly, prior to the arrival of sheep in the high Sierras, though I have seen nests that were destroyed at an altitude of 7000 feet. On a range lower down sheep are more destructive to quail, especially where pasture is on the ground the entire year. Herndon Barrett, A. D. Starr, Thomas Selby, and myself, killed 350 quail in one day's shooting in the Marysville Buttes, but a few years later when large droves of sheep pastured there constantly I thought myself lucky to get a dozen and seldom got more than six.

During many years of hunting and fishing I had several serious accidents, including a broken lower left rib from a fall on a steep mountain, and several times I was seriously lamed by falling on the rocks while fishing for trout. I was looking along a stream I had stocked to see if the stocking had been successful and I fell headlong among the rocks and was stunned, but managed to keep my head above water and saw my hat and creel float down the stream. I made no effort to follow them but sat still in the cold water. Finally I rose and went slowly to where my horse was tied and led the horse ten miles to Big Trees. I did not dare ride with my clothes all wet and it being a cloudy, chilly day.

I had several quite as bad experiences in fishing for trout, and several annoying mishaps while hunting, caused by muddy roads. I usually hunted and fished without companions and when I got injured there was no one to help me. Fortunately my bones were always good and I had confidence that no great harm would come to me.

Early in the spring 1876 I got a volume of California Ornithology and began industriously to collect and identify the birds of this State. I had been an ardent sportsman ever since I was a small boy and I supposed I knew most of the birds, but my first bird book astonished me with many varieties that I did not know and had never heard of. I had never met any ornithologist and did not know there was any in this State.

I had met several other persons who could skin and mount birds and I had learned to skin and mount and mummify birds, but I soon learned that a bird that was mounted in the manner was not a joy forever, even if it was a thing of beauty when first mounted. I was successful in identifying specimens. My success was due partly to my knowledge of the species, partly to the excellency of Baird's descriptions in California Ornithology, and Volume IX, Pacific Railroad Reports, and partly because many sub-species had not been recognized, and I was sometimes materially assisted by Wilson's simple descriptions. The first eggs I collected were about on a par with my first bird skins. I picked a hole in each end with a pin, never having heard of nor seen egg drills and blow pipes. Eggs of Townsends Solitaire and others quite as choice were thus punctured and sent to the Smithsonian Institution.

When the summer came I would go to the mountains and couple trout fishing, hunting, and bird study, usually spending the forepart of the night in the woods alone.

In the winter I was always busy collecting birds or shooting game. In the spring of 1881, Professors Baird and Ridgway requested me to go to Guadalupe Island for speci-

mens of birds of the island. On my way to San Diego by steamer I met five or six men who had been there on seal hunts and they forcibly advised me not to risk the trip and said the island was uninhabited, there was no secure anchorage, and I reluctantly gave up that trip, but went to Cerros Island instead. Cerros is a barren island, little water and few birds, and I felt that my voyage was a failure. The west coast of Lower California has little inducements to offer to an ornithologist excepting that innumerable water birds are there in winter and summer, though not always the same species.

The following summer I met Dr. Fred J. Huse at Big Trees and he suggested that we go to Southern Lower California in the following winter and I gladly agreed to his proposition. He was an experienced naturalist who had been with the Hayden Yellowstone Park Expedition, however, not long afterward he engaged in business in Chicago and as a result I went alone, began work at La Paz on the Gulf of California, visited Espiritu, Santos Island and was satisfied with my success about La Paz where Xantus also spent much of his time collecting. A canteen of water was necessary as part of my equipment on all walks in the surrounding country. Several times I suffered for want of water. On a journey from San Jose to La Paz by the west coast, night overtook us before we reached the spring our guide, Don Juan Dios Angoula expected us to reach, and we, the guide and his servant, Dr. Ten Kate and myself made camp, too thirsty to eat and we did not get water until noon the following day, our animals having wandered off in search of water. Before reaching La Paz, Dr. Ten Kate left me alone to continue the journey, a distance of forty miles, he and the others having gone to the mining camp of Tri Unfo to examine some aboriginal rock inscriptions. I had no difficulty in following the trail. When I was in Southern California (Lower) there was only one wagon road in the peninsula, namely, from La Paz to Tri Unfo, the road

having been built by the American owners of the mine. When I had been on my way to La Paz for an hour or more, a Mexican rode up to me in a way that made me think he intended to attack me. He kept within reach of me with a machete in his hand and though I made room for him he did not come abreast of me. He said I was very brave to be traveling alone and called my attention to the tracks of Indians going ahead of us and also to a little monument which covered a "Gringo" who had been murdered there while traveling alone. I told him I had a good gun and was not afraid. After traveling together some distance I concluded he meant no harm, though he may have thought he could frighten me as a good joke. His machete was used to clear the trail for he said he was going to his cattle ranch, and his declining to ride abreast of me was probably an act of courtesy. Two Mexicans seldom enter a room without an argument on precedence.

In Northern Lower California there was a wagon road from Tia Juana to Esenada, one that went to the Blythe Estate on the Gulf of California, and a few other roads most or entirely made by Americans.

I followed the road to the Blythe Estate as far as the base of San Pedro, a mountain of about 7000 feet altitude and intended to explore it, though not prepared for a long collecting stay on it. The Mexican proprietor of Valle Trinidad where we encamped, came the morning after our arrival there to guide us up the mountain, but my guide Walter Morgan objected to going and I reluctantly abandoned the trip. It was on that mountain that A. W. Anthony later collected several new sub-species of birds. Walter Morgan had helped make the road to the Blythe Estate, having installed the telephone line. Several springs had gone dry since he was on the road and we passed two nights without water, and lack of water prevented much success on that trip. About that time my zeal for the study of ornithology began to wane. I discovered that I could not get satisfactory

results because there was not a good collection of bird skins on this coast that would enable me to know the value of any sub-species I might get, and I had not been able to describe and name several which I thought were entitled to naming and which were later named by others. Then, unfortunately, I could do very little writing, because in order to write I must shut myself up and give it my undivided attention, and several days of that sort of thing made an invalid of me, always having been accustomed to outdoor life.

My love of adventure, as well as my admiration of birds was responsible for most of my wanderings. Bird songs always had a great attraction for me and I have copied many songs that had regular intervals and could be expressed by our musical system.

AN ACCIDENTAL PIECE OF MUSIC AT BIG TREES.

One afternoon while I was taking my usual siesta, I dreamed that someone was playing the parlor piano and I was greatly pleased with what was being played, tho' I remembered only the first part of the piece. I went to the parlor where I found the landlady and a guest in the parlor and I asked who had been playing the piano and was told that no one had been playing it, that they had been there more than an hour longer than I had been sleeping; and I got music paper and wrote the first which had impressed me so forcibly. I showed it to a lady who played it well and was pleased with it. She advised me to write another part for it and promised to arrange it for the piano, which I promptly did, and then went out in the grove of Sequoias where thrushers were singing and I extended the piece to introduce my favorite thrush songs, which I did to my satisfaction. I gave the piece the name of the "Thrush Song of the Sierras" tho' it contains a very common song of the wood thrush—it has five parts and a finale.

I think our meadow lark is more prolific of such songs than any of our species. In Rose Canyon, near Old Town,

San Diego, A. M. Ingersoll and I saw a meadow lark sing a fine song unvaried in anything, ten or twelve times, giving me time to copy it perfectly. The bird was an exception for San Diego, for the larks here sing much less than do those further north, in Butte County for instance.

The songs of the thrushes were always delicious music to me, especially those in the Sierra Nevadas. I was unfortunate in some of those I had printed in the California Academy of Sciences, October, 1880, the notes of the H. Sequoia which I gave for publication were ruined by putting them in the wrong key and taking other liberties, which my friend Walter Bryant, being without a particle of music in his soul, supposed were the same after they were transposed as before it. Two separate songs were blended together. I once spent a week at the Academy of Sciences and every day gave them an article for publication. On Saturday Frank Vaslit, the expert proof reader, complimented me on doing so much work, but the sad fact that I was then exhausted and unnerved, and I never again undertook too much work there. In Mr. Cheny's delightful *Wood Notes Wild*, I am quoted as saying that H. Sequoias and the Wood Thrush have notes in common, the same intervals perhaps rarely, but never in the same voice. I never understood how I came to err in that manner for I was very familiar with the songs of the Wood Thrush in my youth. I was displeased with the treatment of my catalogue of a collection of birds made at various points along the western coast of Cape St. Eugene. (Proc. Nat. Mus. Mar. 1883).

I was opposed to writing that paper when I did, having been at Big Trees with a fishing party, and being almost destitute of works and notes that would have assisted me. Then one of the birds of the collection was named after a paid collector who had never been in Lower California and I did not agree with some of Mr. Ridgway's conclusions.

Realizing that I could never get what I should have by my work and outlay of money, my zeal waned and, added to that, I was getting along in the sear and yellow leaf.

When I undertook to name the Big Tree Thrush I met with discouragement, less however than in one or two other birds I attempted to name, but which are now treated as good species or sub-species. I hope I am not complaining. I did what I have always done and would do again, namely, followed my natural inclinations and have gotten much pleasure out of life, much of it in meeting pleasant intelligent ornithologists.

Reluctantly, in justice to myself, I must add that the Birds of the Pacific Coast, occasional papers, and the California Academy Sciences, 1890, were badly butchered by Mr. Bryant. Bird names had changed considerably since it was first written and I said Mr. Bryant is entitled to credit for making needed changes and otherwise preparing it for the printer, not knowing that it was Frank Vaslit's special duty to attend to it. Mr. Bryant probably supposed that gave him a free hand and he cut out much of it. He wrote me that he would restrict the paper to migration and distribution, to which I replied: "Restrict nothing." About that time I was advised to go to San Francisco and look after the publication of "Birds of the Pacific District", that Bryant was unwell and had gone to his father's home. Frank Vaslit and I saw part of it printed and replaced some of the matter Bryant had eliminated, including the description of the nest, etc., of the *Buteo elegans*, much of my notes on *Zonotrichia leucophrys* and other matter I thought important.

The foregoing is written entirely from memory.

In conclusion I hope that no one will ask me why I wrote all of it.

THE SIERRAS IN JUNE.

Long loved haunts, I greet your noble forest, evergreen,
Your snow-clad peaks, deep, dark canons, flowers, ferns, and air
 serene,
Your sequoias, incense cedars, graceful spruces, firs and pines
Lift their heads much nearer Heaven than the trees of other climes.

Countless lilacs and azaleas give the air their rich perfume,
Pure cold streams from lofty snow-fields chime with birds in joyous
 tune,
Swift waters flow past moss and fern, past sassafras and columbine,
We lure the trout where all things please; Sierras' streams, rare
 charms are thine!

Where the river rushes madly, foams and frets to meet the tide,
The Canon Wren whistles gladly in caves by the river's side.
Unseen thrushes sing divinely in the densest, darkest shade,
Ouzels sing and chase each other in and out of the cascade.

Happy birds! forgetting winter, you dread not what time may bring,
Wise are they 'mid scenes like these, who feel that life is always
 spring.
Dark clouds make the sun seem brighter, without clouds there is
 no rain,
Souls are dwarfed by constant sunshine; too much sunshine shrinks
 the grain.

All the world is full of beauty when the heart is free from guile,
If we look at nature kindly she returns a radiant smile.
Here her smile is ever brightest—charming, care dispelling smile,
Here the heart is ever lightest, free from strife and trade's turmoil.

In the evenings varied shadows in the canons dark and deep,
Graceful, timid deer leave cover, rainbow trout for insects leap.
Later when the thrush is silent, and the bright moon's searching
 light
Contrasts strangely in the forest with the darkest shades of night.

Owls shriek, perchance a panther's scream unnerves the wandering
 deer, stills
Everything save sighing winds in moonlit tree tops, noisy rocks
 and rills,
Night and day, summer and winter, have each grand features their
 own,
Wild tempests sweep o'er sleeping forms when the summer birds
 have flown.

LYMAN BELDING.

When I say "a panther's scream stills everything" it brings to my mind an incident which I will relate:

A panther had its summer home near Big Trees and occasionally came about the hotel at night. One warm night I was awakened by its scream terminated by chest growls. Those screams silenced several cow bells and numerous bells on sheep in the corral and twenty or more horses which were standing on a plank floor in the barn and which usually were stamping, but after the panther screamed every hoof and bell was silent some minutes. The panther was not more than a hundred yards from my open window and when I awoke I was trembling. Several times I heard that or some other panther scream when I would be watching a salt log or deer lick, and a young deer that was near the lick seemed almost paralyzed and stood motionless for a long time. I was sitting on the ground and kept a sharp watch for the panther as it was very near when it screamed, not more than fifty yards. When I returned to the hotel, more than a mile distant from the lick, I kept my gun cocked for fear that panther might spring on me in the narrow trail in the forest.

Stockton, California.

June, 1916.

LYMAN BELDING.

An Appreciation by Walter K. Baker, in *The Condor* Eagle, Rock, Cal.

"Lyman Belding, the last of the Pioneer ornithologists of California, and an Honorary Member of the Cooper Ornithological Club, died at Stockton, California, November 22, 1917, at the age of eighty-eight years and five months. For a considerable period his strength had been gradually failing, and his death was due to the infirmities of his advanced age. He was the oldest American ornithologist.

"Although for more than twenty years Mr. Belding took a leading part in the ornithological work of the State, it is much to be regretted that he was personally known to so few of the younger ornithologists who have now taken his place. This was partly due to his active work having ended before the present generation's began, and partly to his having lived in retirement away from centers of ornithological activity. Although he seemed somewhat diffident he was nevertheless very genial and was not averse to making new friends. To those who had won his confidence he was greatly attached. His home in Stockton was the rendezvous of the Old Friends Club, a small coterie of prominent pioneer men who used to gather for a sociable game of whist, of which Mr. Belding was very fond. So far as I am aware he attended but one meeting of the Cooper Club, although he was always greatly interested in its welfare. In the 'downy' stage of *The Condor* he helped its growth by encouragement and by contributions of manuscript and money.

"Mr. Belding was a naturalist of the old school. He was a born sportsman and his love of nature revealed itself in early childhood. It is not clear whether his more serious interest in natural history was the outcome of his devotion to gun and rod or whether it was of independent growth, simply another manifestation of those boyhood traits which

made the autumn woods an irresistible allurements and the quest of partridge eggs a treasured adventure. I am much inclined to the latter view. Of the deeper nature of the man, certainly a prominent characteristic was independence, and a love of the freedom which is associated with life in the open. At bottom I believe it was largely the aesthetic sense—an esteem for the beautiful—which drew him afield. Something there was of the artist in him, much of the musician, certainly a touch of the poet. He confided to me once that it would have given him intense pleasure to be able to write the poems he *felt*. He enjoyed music and pictures. With it all he owned a vein of quiet, somewhat whimsical humor.

“Here was a man of finer fibre, simple in tastes, appreciative, and gentle. He was keenly sensitive, almost ‘temperamental’, and strongly reacted upon by environment, yet seemingly unaware of the fact; no wonder that he sought the hills, and a refuge in his gun and rod. Such a man would find unlimited zest in matching his wits against a wary trout, or in waiting and watching in the brooding quiet of a dark fir forest. Amid such scenes his happiest days were spent, and in such pursuits the *real* Belding found expression.

“At odd moments during the last few years of his life, Mr. Belding jotted down reminiscent notes of his earlier days. Originally written for relatives, and for the friends who suggested the work as a pastime, this autobiography contains much that is of general interest. In the following pages I have let Mr. Belding tell his own story as fully as the limitations of space would permit, but it has been possible to reproduce only a relatively small part of the manuscript.

“Belding’s chief interest and pleasure in ornithology undoubtedly centered around live birds. It was the pursuit and observation of birds in their own homes that appealed especially to him. In his way, he must have been animated

by much the same zeal that fired Audubon. He found writing rather tedious, and for the effort expended not so profitable to him as more congenial out-of-door occupations. For this reason his published writings are not at all commensurate with the actual amount of work that he accomplished.

"His first long paper, published in 1879—'A partial List of the Birds of Central California'—was the outcome of a very active period of collecting and observation begun in 1876. The collections were made at Stockton and Marysville, in the valley; at Murphy's on the lower edge of the pine region of the Sierras (upper edge of the Upper Sonoran Zone); at Calaveras Big Trees (Transition Zone); at Summit Station on the Central Pacific Railroad, and at Soda Springs, ten miles south (Canadian and Hudsonian Zones). In this paper 220 species are listed. In a footnote Mr. Ridgway states that collections received from Mr. Belding up to that time amounted to about 180 species (not including races) and 600 specimens.

"In 1883, three papers appeared as the result of his collecting trips along the west coast of Lower California and in the Cape region; and a short paper recorded the birds found at Guaymas, Mexico. In the two articles concerned with the Cape avifauna, 187 species are recorded, all but 21 being represented by specimens.

"The Big Tree Thrush, *Turdus sequoiensis*, was described in 1889, from specimens taken at Big Trees. Later in the same year appeared an account of 'The Small Thrushes of California,' published, like the first, in the Proceedings of the California Academy of Sciences.

"Mr. Belding's best known and longest work, 'The Land Birds of the Pacific District', appeared in 1890 as one of the series of Occasional Papers of the California Academy of Sciences. When the American Ornithologists' Union was organized in 1883, Mr. Belding was appointed to superin-

tend the collection of information concerning the migration and distribution of the birds of the 'Pacific District,' which comprised California, Oregon, Washington, and Nevada, an area of about 434,000 square miles. The 'Land Birds' grew out of this work. Although data from many observers are recorded, a very substantial portion of the book is contributed by Mr. Belding himself. His own work covered principally central California, or 'the part of the State between the northern parts of Stanislaus and Tuolumne counties and the northern part of Butte, southwestern Plumas and Sierras counties.'

" 'I have made observations,' he says in the preface, 'at many localities in this part of the State, in the tule swamps, river bottoms, plains, foot-hills and coniferous forests of the Sierra Nevada Mountains at all altitudes, kept a record of the birds, but have not thought it necessary to burden my notes with a long list of localities. * * *

" 'I am quite confident that few if any species have escaped my notice in Central California except a few which probably visit the high Sierra Nevada in winter, from the north, when snow is so deep as to prevent exploration.' Two hundred and ninety-five species are recorded, of which about 250 are definitely accredited to California.

"Mr. Belding prepared a similar report on the water birds which was never published. The manuscript was presented by him to the Cooper Ornithological Club, and was later deposited in the Bancroft Library of the University of California.

"When the American Ornithologists' Union was organized in 1883, Mr. Belding was elected to Active Membership, and in 1911 was made a Retired Fellow. He was a Life Member of the California Academy of Sciences, and aided very materially in building up its ornithological collections, especially during the period when his friend Walter E. Bryant was curator, and when he was himself actively

engaged in field work. These collections were wholly destroyed by the fire which followed the earthquake of 1906. I need not remind our Club that Mr. Belding was one of our own most esteemed honorary members, having been elected in 1896.

"The following species have been dedicated to Lyman Belding: *Cottus beldingi* Eigenmann, Desert Rifflefish; *Cnemidophorus hyperythrus beldingi* (Stejneger), Belding Orange-throat; *Oceanodroma beldingi* Emerson, Belding Petrel; *Rallus beldingi* Ridgway, Belding Rail; *Passerculus beldingi* Ridgway, Belding Marsh Sparrow; *Goethlypis beldingi* Ridgway, Belding Yellow-throat; *Aphelocoma californica obscura* Anthony, Belding Jay; *Citellus beldingi* (Merriam), Belding Spermophile, Sierra Picket-pin.

"Mr. Belding was a painstaking and accurate observer, a conscientious recorder, and had in fact the real spirit of research. He hated inaccuracy and exaggeration. What he did he did well, and his limitations were those imposed by his isolation and lack of early training in scientific pursuits. He was a gentleman of high character and fine ideals."

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ROYALTY IN WYOMING VALLEY NEARLY A CENTURY AND A-QUARTER AGO.

BY OSCAR JEWELL HARVEY, A. M.

READ BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY JANUARY 3, 1919.

(STANLEY WOODWARD FUND.)

During the progress, for the past four years, of the tremendous conflict which has rattled and shaken the nations of the world (and shattered some of them), there have been, among the host of notabilities engaged on one side or the other of the conflict, two personages, in particular, whose names have been prominently before the public—the one, Ferdinand, the Coburg princeling, who was King of Bulgaria, “the spoiled child of Europe”, until his abdication in a panic a few months ago; the other, Albert, King of Belgium, the little nation which, by her self-sacrifice, has “won a place of honor among nations—a crown of glory imperishable.”

Altho descended from a common ancestor, these two men are distinctly dissimilar and antipodal in their natures, in personalty, and in their aims and ambitions. The one has been known for some years in European diplomatic circles as “the Sly Fox of the Balkans”; while the other, because he “pledged himself to work for the social, moral and intellectual advancement of his people” when he was crowned King in 1909, and since then has shown great kindness, benevolence, sympathy and democratic interest in all things that have pertained to the weal and woe of the Belgians, is enthroned in the hearts of his subjects, and is admired by the world at large.

It is probable that very few persons in this community are aware of the fact that King Albert is a great-grandson, and former King Ferdinand is a grandson, of Louis Philippe, the one-time “Citizen King” of France, who, as Duke of Orléans and an exile from his homeland, visited Wilkes-Barré in the Summer of 1797 and was entertained here during a brief sojourn.

In Claypoole's *Daily Advertiser*, published at Philadelphia October 25, 1796, there appeared in the column devoted to "Shipping Intelligence" the following item:

"In the *America* (Captain Ewing, Hamburg, 27 days) came ten passengers. Among them is L. P. B. Orléans, eldest son of the *ci-devant* Égalité, and distinguished in the French Revolution as a Lieutenant General at the battle of Jemappes and the final flight of the celebrated Dumouriez."

The "L. P. B. Orléans" thus mentioned was Louis Philippe Bourbon, Duke of Orléans, eldest son of Louis Philippe Joseph, Duke of Orléans from 1785 till his death in 1793. The latter was fourth in descent from Philippe, Duke of Orléans, who, as the younger and only brother of Louis XIV, "*Le Grand Monarque*" of France, became the progenitor of the Orléans, or cadet, branch of the royal House of Bourbon—a family of the highest note in French history.



LOUIS PHILIPPE, KING OF THE FRENCH.

Louis Philippe Joseph (born in 1747) succeeded his father as Duke of Orléans upon the death of the latter in 1785. As Duke of Chartres he had been married in 1769 to Louise Marie Adelaide de Bourbon, the only daughter of the Duke of Penthièvre, and the richest heiress of the time. Her

wealth, added to the prospective wealth of her husband, made it certain that he would be the wealthiest individual in France, and he soon set out to play a part which, in the light of subsequent events in the history of his country, was startling and problematical.

The city residence of the Duke and Duchess was the Palais Royal, a landmark well known to all visitors to Paris, even at this day. In 1771, however, owing to some offense which he had given to the King, the Duke was exiled to his country estate of Villers-Cotterets. When, in 1774, Louis XVI came to the throne, Chartres still found himself looked upon coldly at Court. Queen Marie Antoinette hated him, and envied him for his wealth, wit, and freedom from etiquette, and he was not slow to return her hatred with scorn.

He advocated with earnestness the cause of the American Colonies in the War of the Revolution, and in 1778 he served as an officer in the French navy, taking part in at least one naval battle. He hoped to see further service, but the Queen was opposed to this, and he was removed from the navy and given the honorary post of Colonel-General of Hussars. He then devoted himself chiefly to pleasure, but from time to time dabbled in politics. He visited London often, and became an intimate friend of the Prince of Wales, afterwards King George IV. He infected the French *jeunesse dorée* with "Anglomania", in the form of horse-racing and hard drinking, and made jockeys as fashionable in France as they were in England. He also acquired much popularity in Paris by his liberalism (which he had largely learned in England) and by his generous gifts to the poor in times of famine, and by throwing open to the people the beautiful garden appurtenant to the Palais Royal.

About the time (1785) that he succeeded his father as Duke of Orléans he was constantly at loggerheads with the Court, and in 1789, having been elected to the convocation

of the States General at Versailles, he headed the seceding noblemen of that body who, in June, 1789, joined the *tiers etat* (third estate).

During those turbulent and tumultuous days the garden of the Palais Royal was the scene of many excited and disorderly gatherings. Surrounded by the most gorgeous shops and cafés in Europe, the garden was the general resort for strangers in the city, for the idle and the dissipated, but, above all, for the most furious demagogues and blatant blatherskites. The most daring and inflammatory speeches were delivered in the cafés, and in the garden itself, and the mob reigned there with sovereign sway.

The part the Duke of Orléans played in the Summer of 1789 is one of the most debated points in the history of the French Revolution. The Court accused him of being at the bottom of every popular movement, and saw the "gold of Orléans" as the cause of the various riots which culminated in the fall of the Bastille on July 14, 1789, and the demise of the *Ancien Régime*. There can be no doubt that the Duke hated Queen Marie Antoinette, and bitterly resented his long Court disgrace; also, that he sincerely wished for a thorough reform of the Government—for the establishment of a constitution, of which France was utterly devoid.

Finally, General the Marquis de La Fayette, jealous of the Duke's popularity, persuaded the King to get him out of France by sending him on a mission to England. This having been done, the Duke sojourned in England from October, 1789, till July, 1790, when he returned to Paris, and on July 7 took his seat in the Constituent Assembly. The Court still suspected him of lack of fealty, while his friends—nobles discontented with the Court, adventurers, demagogues, and philosophers desirous of all sorts of goods and honors—made him their idol, and insisted on talking about making him King.

In September, 1792, he was elected a Deputy from Paris

to the National Convention, which met later in the same month, declared Royalty abolished in France, and proclaimed a Republic. The Duke of Orléans forthwith abdicated his titles, renounced his dignities, and adopted the surname of "Égalité" (equality), conferred upon him by the Commune of Paris.

In January, 1793, the trial of Louis XVI by the National Convention took place, resulting in the conviction of the ill-fated King on the charge of intending to betray the State, overcome the Revolution and overturn the Republic. He was condemned to death. Philippe Égalité, with a voice in which effrontery mingled with terror, and which jarred upon the feelings even of that hardened assembly, voted, with many others, for the immediate execution of his kinsman and sovereign.

A few days later, on January 21, a great mob of spectators crowded around the guillotine in the Place de la Révolution in Paris to gloat upon the hapless Louis, "the Son of Sixty Kings", bearing the sins of many generations. Philippe Égalité was there in his cabriolet. The ax of the guillotine clanked down, and the life of the 38-year old King, who had reigned for eighteen years, was shorn away. Then the executioner held up the bloody head of Louis. Fierce shouts of "*Vive la République!*" rose and swelled beyond the confines of the Place, while Philippe Égalité calmly drove off in his cabriolet.

The course pursued by Égalité did not, however, save him from the enemies of Royalty, for, in less than three months after the execution of King Louis, all the Bourbons then in France were arrested and thrown into prison. Égalité and his two younger sons—Montpensier, eighteen years of age, and Beaujolais, fourteen years of age—were arrested at the Palais Royal and incarcerated in Fort St. Jean, the citadel at Marseilles, where they were still confined in the following October, when the "Reign of Terror" began.

Égalité was naturally the very sort of victim wanted by

the Revolutionary Tribunal, and in due course of time an Act of Accusation was drawn up against him. He was tried at Paris, condemned to death on November 6, 1793, and, on the same day, with a smile upon his lips and without any appearance of fear, was guillotined amid the execrations of the multitude which had so often applauded him. This was just three weeks after the execution by the Terrorists of Queen Marie Antoinette.

No man was ever more blamed during the Revolution than Égalité, but the faults of ambition and intrigue were his friends', not his. It was his friends who wished him to be on the throne. Personally he possessed the charming manners of a polished *grand seigneur*—debauched and cynical, but never rude or cruel; full of gentle consideration for all about him, but selfish in his pursuit of pleasure. He had all the vices which nourish crime, and none of those brilliant qualities which make men illustrious in the eyes of posterity.

Philippe Égalité, sometime Duke of Chartres, and later Duke of Orléans, was survived by his wife, the Duchess, and their four children: (i) Louis Philippe Bourbon d'Orléans; (ii) Antoine Philippe d'Orléans, Duc de Montpensier, born in 1775; (iii) Eugénie Adelaïde Louise d'Orléans, born in 1777; (iv) Louis Charles d'Orléans, Comte de Beaujolais, born in 1779.

LOUIS PHILIPPE BOURBON D'ORLÉANS was born October 6, 1773, in the Palais Royal, according to the official records of Paris; but there has always been a mystery in connection with his birth. According to a popular story, widely believed in France up to fifteen or sixteen years ago, and vouched for by the late Sir Bernard Burke and other eminent European genealogists, Louis Philippe was a changeling, or supposititious child, and not the offspring of the Duke and Duchess of Chartres.

The latter were traveling in Italy in 1773, and in October were at Florence. There the Duchess gave birth to a child

on the same day as the wife of a certain police constable named Chiapponi. It is declared that, the baby of the Duchess being a girl and that of the constable's wife a boy, an exchange was made, of which documentary proofs are asserted to have been in existence, up to a few years ago, in the Vatican at Rome and in the Russian imperial archives at St. Petersburg; that the constable's son was brought up as a royal prince, whereas the daughter of the Duke was trained for the stage, on which she made her debut as a ballerina. Subsequently she became the wife of the first Lord Newborough of England, the great-grandfather of the present peer of that name.

It is certain that, throughout the eighteen years' reign of Louis Philippe as King of the French, he was constantly caricatured and ridiculed, alike by the French and the foreign press, as the son of the Florentine constable; and it is a singular fact in this connection that Nicholas I, Czar of Russia, declined to accredit a minister or an ambassador to the Court of the Tuileries, or to be personally represented there, so long as Louis Philippe remained on the throne.

The god-parents of Louis Philippe were Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, and his education was entrusted to the famous Madame de Genlis, to whose influence he undoubtedly owed many of the qualities which later distinguished him—his wide, if superficial, knowledge, his orderliness and, perhaps, his acquisitiveness and parsimony.

He was entitled Duke of Valois until 1785, when he succeeded his father as Duke of Chartres. He was at the threshold of his sixteenth year at the outbreak of the French Revolution, into which, like his father, he threw himself with ardor. He enlisted in the National Guard (organized after the fall of the Bastille, with the Marquis de La Fayette as commander-in-chief), and in 1790 became a member of the Club of the Friends of the Constitution, afterwards the Jacobin Club, in which the moderate elements of the revolutionists still predominated.

By 1791 Louis Philippe had attained the rank of Colonel of dragoons in the National Guard, was commissioned a Brigadier General in the Spring of 1792, and in the following September, when the Republic was proclaimed, he was promoted Lieutenant General—being then in the nineteenth year of his life. Together with his father he renounced his titles and dignities, and assumed the surname *Égalité*. He thus became *persona grata* with the party in power, and as he had shown both courage and capacity in the war then in progress against Austria, Prussia, Hungary and Bohemia, he was given a command in the Army of the North.

He was, says Lamartine, “welcomed by the old soldiers as a prince, by the new ones as a patriot, by all as a comrade. His intrepidity did not carry him away; he controlled it, and it left him that quickness of perception and that coolness so essential to a General. Amid the hottest fire he neither quickened nor slackened his pace, for his ardor was as much the effect of reflection as of calculation, and as grave as duty. His familiarity—martial with the officers, soldierly with the soldiers, patriotic with the citizens—caused them to forgive him for being a prince.

“But beneath the exterior of a soldier of the people lurked the *arrière pensée* of a prince of the blood; and he plunged into all the events of the Revolution with the entire yet skillful abandon of a master mind. Men feared, in spite of his bravery and his exalted enthusiasm for his country, to catch a glimpse of a throne raised upon its own ruins and by the hands of a republic. This presentiment, which invariably precedes great names and destinies, seemed to reveal to the army that, of all the leaders of the Revolution, he might one day be the most useful or the most fatal to liberty.”

Louis Philippe was present under General Kellerman at the bombardment of Valmy in September, 1792, and at the battle of the French with the Austrians at Jemappes, Belgium, on November 6, 1792, he acted a conspicuous part

by rallying the broken column of Lieut. General Dumouriez* and, at its head, carrying the entrenchments of the enemy—thus converting disaster into victory. In February, 1793, he was still serving under Dumouriez, when the latter, forming the design of invading Holland, concentrated his forces at Louvain. From this place, early in March, 1793, Dumouriez wrote a threatening letter to the French National Convention, denouncing the proceedings of the Ministry, the acts of oppression committed in Belgium, etc.

At Neerwinden, Holland, on March 18, the army of Dumouriez was defeated by the Austrians under the Prince of Coburg, and four days later, at Louvain, the Austrians were again victorious. In both these battles Louis Philippe commanded an important division of the French army.

At a secret conference which he held with Austrian officers after the battle of Louvain, Dumouriez announced that it was his intention to march on Paris, overthrow the Republic and establish a constitutional monarchy; but nothing was said by him as to who was to wear the crown. The Austrians were to support Dumouriez's advance on Paris, but were not to show themselves, except in case of need.

The French now resumed their retreat, and when they reached Courtrai Dumouriez was met by Jacobin emissaries from Paris. He bluntly told them that his design was to save France, and he denounced the National Convention as an assembly of tyrants, whose decrees he despised. (The execution of Louis XVI, it will be recalled, had occurred about two months prior to this, as hereinbefore narrated.)

The allies, against whom France was warring, were

*He had been commissioned a Lieut. General in 1789. He was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs early in 1792, and was mainly responsible for the declaration of war against Austria April 20, 1792. Later he was assigned to the command of the "Army of the Center."

sanguine that Dumouriez's defection would put an end to the French Revolution; but, unfortunately, Dumouriez's army was not with him, and on the road to Condé he was fired upon by a body of volunteers and compelled to flee for his life. The day following (April 5, 1793) he abandoned his army and went over to the Austrian headquarters at Tournay, accompanied by a few fellow officers, among whom was Louis Philippe. The National Convention issued, without delay, an order of arrest against Dumouriez, Louis Philippe, and others—including Philippe Égalité and his two younger sons, as previously narrated.

Within a few days after his flight from France Louis Philippe arrived at Coblenz on the Rhine. In May he was at Zurich, Switzerland, and soon thereafter he joined his sister at Schaffhausen. Thence, accompanied by his faithful valet, Baudoin, he started out on his wanderings through Switzerland, professing to be a lawyer on a vacation, and assuming the name of M. Chabaud de la Tour—mainly to escape from the fury of the *émigrés*.

Before setting forth he wrote to his father—then in prison at Marseilles—upbraiding him severely for the part he had taken in the death of Louis XVI—a letter which Philippe Égalité bitterly resented to the day of his death.

In October, 1793, as "M. Chabaud", Louis Philippe applied for appointment to a vacant professorship in the college at Reichenau, Switzerland, and, only a few days prior to the execution of his father at Paris, he was appointed Professor of French, Mathematics, Geography and History at Reichenau. He was then twenty years of age.

Eight months later he resigned his position in the college and mysteriously disappeared. We next learn of him as "Mr. Corby", engaged in teaching a village school in an obscure valley in Switzerland. He was now, by reason of his father's death, Duke of Orléans, and the intrigues of the Orléanists were centered on him—altho his whereabouts was not known to them. On the other hand, his enemies

were making vigorous search for him throughout Europe. At length, alarmed by the eagerness of his foes, he resolved to embark for the United States of America, at that time "the asylum alike of kings and beggars."

With that design he journeyed to Hamburg, where he met Dumouriez, who avowed the hope and expectation of making Louis Philippe King of France. Being disappointed, however, in receiving funds which he had expected, the royal wanderer was unable to pay the expense of a passage to America. As there seemed to be no safety for him in any part of the South of Europe, he set out on foot to travel through Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Lapland. In his wanderings he ultimately arrived at a point 5° nearer the North Pole than had ever before been reached by a French traveler.

In October, 1795, he reached Stockholm, Sweden, and, after a short stay, departed thence for Copenhagen, Denmark. There he stayed some time, and finally, about the beginning of 1796, arrived once more at Hamburg, where Madame de Genlis, the instructress and mentor of his boyhood, was then living. Shortly before this the National Convention of France had been dissolved, and the government of the country was in the hands of the newly-created Directory.

Early in 1796 the Directory proposed to the Dowager Duchess of Orléans to liberate from the citadel at Marseilles her two sons, Montpensier and Beaujolais—who had been incarcerated there since April, 1793—provided Louis Philippe would embark with them for the United States. She gladly assented to the proposition, and forthwith wrote to Louis Philippe, but two months passed before her letter reached him. He signified to his mother his acceptance of the terms, and agreed to embark as soon as he should have secured the necessary funds for his traveling expenses.

Subsequently Gouverneur Morris, who had been the United States Minister to France during the Reign of

Terror, and was then in Europe, made a loan to Louis Philippe, and agreed to increase the amount when Montpensier and Beaujolais should arrive in the United States. On the eve of his departure from Hamburg Louis Philippe wrote to his mother:

"It seems to me like a dream. In a short time I shall embrace my dear brothers. By contributing to the peace of my country I can once more serve France."

Louis Philippe and his faithful servant, Baudoin, who was still with him, were provided with Danish passports, and on September 24, 1796, they sailed from Hamburg in the ship *America*. The firm of Conyngham & Nesbitt, then, and for many years, one of the most extensive mercantile concerns in Philadelphia, was the owner of this vessel, and when she was docked at the Walnut Street wharf, Philadelphia, after her voyage of twenty-seven days, Louis Philippe was welcomed by David H. Conyngham* (a member of the firm of Conyngham & Nesbitt), who conducted him to his residence, No. 94, Front Street. There the Duke remained as a guest for several days, and then took rooms in the lower part of the house of the Rev. William Marshall, adjoining the Scots Presbyterian Church in Walnut Street, between Fourth and Fifth Streets. Here he impatiently awaited the arrival of his brothers.

After numerous delays they were released from prison, and on November 5, 1796, together with "eighty Americans redeemed from African slavery," they embarked at Marseilles in the Swedish ship *Jupiter*. After a voyage of 93 days they landed at Philadelphia on February 6, 1797. Shortly afterwards the three reunited brothers—with the faithful Baudoin as their only servant—took possession of a three-story brick house at the northwest corner of Fourth and Prune Streets. It was owned by the Spanish Consul,

*He died at Philadelphia March 5, 1834, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. The youngest of his ten children was the Hon. John Nesbitt Conyngham, for twenty-nine years President Judge of the Courts of Luzerne County, Pennsylvania.

by whom it was leased to "Louis Philippe d'Orléans", for a term of two years from February 25, 1797, at an annual rental of "550 milled silver dollars."

Philadelphia was then the seat of the National Government, and the three Princes were invited to the best houses in the town. They met President Washington upon several occasions, and were invited by him to visit him at Mt. Vernon, whither he was soon to retire. They were present at the inauguration of John Adams as President on March 4, 1797.

Among the men of influence in Philadelphia who entertained the Orléans Princes was the Hon. Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State, who, from 1787 till 1791, was a resident of Wilkes-Barré. His son John, in a letter to his daughter, under the date of September 6, 1830, wrote:*

"I do not know whether I have told you that the present King of France (Orléans) and his two brothers, the Duke of Montpensier and the Duke of Beaujolais, once dined at your grandfather's [house in Arch Street, near Sixth Street] when I was in Philadelphia in 1797. The Duke of Orléans was then about twenty-three years old, a plain but intelligent man, of a good person and deportment. Many years afterwards, on a visit of Daniel Webster to Paris, Louis Philippe inquired of him for the family of Colonel Pickering, saying that if any of them should visit Paris he would be glad to show them attention. When the Royal brothers were exiles in the United States Timothy Pickering was able to aid them in receiving their funds, and this was gratefully remembered."

Late in March, 1797, the Princes, accompanied by Baudouin, set out from Philadelphia on horseback, each carrying in a pair of saddlebags, after the fashion of the period, such necessary articles only as they would require during their journey. They also carried letters of introduction to a number of persons of influence in the different localities which they expected to visit. In these letters they were referred to as "Mr. Orleans," "Mr. Montpensier" and

*See "The Life of Timothy Pickering," III: 285.

"Mr. Beaujolais." Louis Philippe, when addressed by his brothers, was called "Chartres."

The travelers spent two or three days in Baltimore, and arrived at Washington on April 3. Two days later they reached the home of General Washington. "They were charmed with the hospitality of Mt. Vernon. The subject of African slavery was freely discussed with their host, who at that time had some 400 slaves on his estate of 10,000 acres." They spent four days at Mt. Vernon, and then, with a map and an itinerary furnished them by Washington, they set out for the western country.

Their tour extended to Knoxville and Nashville, Tennessee; Louisville and Lexington, Kentucky; Lancaster and Zanesville, Ohio; Wheeling; Pittsburgh, where they remained several days, and then journeyed to Erie, and thence along the lake shore to Buffalo. At the Cattaraugus Reservation they were entertained over night by the Seneca Indians located there. Among these Indians was an old woman, a native of Germany, who had been taken prisoner by the Indians many years before, but was then habituated to her fate and contented with it.

From Buffalo they went to Niagara Falls; then back to Buffalo; then to Canandaigua. There, in one of the worst parts of the road, they met Mr. Alexander Baring, later Lord Ashburton of England. He was on his way to Niagara. Louis Philippe had known him in Philadelphia, where he had been married to a Miss Bingham.

The Princes traveled on to Genesee Falls (later Rochester), and then on to Geneva. There they disposed of their horses, bought a boat, and then rowed nearly the whole length of Seneca Lake. Then, with their luggage strapped upon their backs, they tramped southward through the forest, via Newtown (now Elmira), New York, twenty-five or thirty miles to Tioga Point, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania (now Athens, Bradford County, Pennsylvania). Tarrying only a short time at Tioga Point they bought a boat (either a bateau or a canoe), large enough to carry the

four travelers and their luggage. Then they paddled down the Susquehanna.

They made a brief stop at Asylum,* in order to visit the

*Asylum, founded in 1793 by certain French *émigrés*, was located in what was then Luzerne, but is now Bradford, County, Pennsylvania, on the right bank of the Susquehanna River, opposite the present station of Rummerfield on the Lehigh Valley Railroad.

The site of the village is marked by a boulder, placed there several years ago, bearing a tablet with an inscription reading in part as follows: "This monument is erected to commemorate and perpetuate the memory and deeds of the French Royalist refugees who escaped from France and the horrors of its Revolution, and from the Revolution in San Domingo, settled here in 1793, and located and laid out the town of Asylum. * * * In 1796 Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, afterwards King of France, visited here. The Prince de Talleyrand, the Duke de la Rochefoucault-Liancourt, and many other distinguished Frenchmen were visitors or residents for a short time at Asylum."

Like many other monuments erected in the valley of the Susquehanna, to commemorate historic events, the Asylum monument perpetuates in its inscription a slight, but inexcusable, error. Louis Philippe was not at Asylum in 1796, but in 1797 only.

In the Autumn of 1803 Alexander Wilson, the celebrated ornithologist, traveled on foot from Philadelphia to Niagara Falls. Later he wrote and published a poem entitled "The Foresters" (descriptive of his journey), in which he made the following reference to Asylum.

"Gaul's exiled royalists, a pensive train,
Here raise the hut and clear the rough domain;
The way-worn pilgrim to their fires receive,
Supply his wants, but at his tidings grieve.
Afflicting news—forever on the wing—
A ruined country and a murdered King!
Peace to their lone retreats, while sheltered here.
May these deep shades to them be doubly dear,
And Power's proud worshipers, wherever placed
(Who saw such grandeur ruined and defaced),
By deeds of virtue to themselves secure
Those inborn joys that, spite of Kings, endure
(Though thrones and states from their foundations part)—
The precious balsam of a wounded heart."

For very full and interesting accounts of Asylum, see the following: (1) "The French at Asylum," a paper by the Rev. David Craft, D. D., read before The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society January 14, 1898, and published in the Society's "Proceedings and Collections," V: 75. (2) "The Story of Some French Refugees and their Azilum, 1793-1800," by Mrs. Louise (Welles) Murray, of Athens, Pa. Two editions of this book have been published—the last one in 1918. (3) "A Day at Asylum," a paper by the Rev. David Craft, D. D., read before The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society November 14, 1902, and published in the Society's "Proceedings and Collections," VIII: 47.

French *émigrés* who were still residing there, and then they proceeded on down the river to Wilkes-Barré. Here they arrived on Monday, July 24, 1797.

Although Wilkes-Barré was then twenty-eight years old it was only a small village, owing to the disasters by which it had been overwhelmed during the Revolutionary War and the Second Pennamite-Yankee War. It was then, as now, the county-seat of Luzerne County, which had been established ten years previously; but in 1796, in the whole township of Wilkes-Barré, there were only 122 taxables. The borough of Wilkes-Barré had not yet been erected. Easton, 65 miles distant, was the nearest town, while Sunbury and Northumberland, 67 miles down the Susquehanna, were the next nearest. In a northerly direction, up to the New York State line, Asylum and Tioga Point were the only villages of any size, and they were much smaller than Wilkes-Barré.

The Duke de la Rochefoucault-Liancourt (whose name is mentioned hereinbefore), a victim of the French Revolution and an exile from his homeland, who came to the United States in February, 1794, with Prince Talleyrand-Périgord, and visited Wyoming Valley in May, 1795, makes the following reference* to Wilkes-Barré:

"At last we reached Wilksbarre. * * At Doctor [Matthew] Covell's we found a good fire, a good stable, good eggs, salt meat (fresh meat is entirely out of the question), and thus, as we smoked our segars, indulged the pleasant thought of having escaped all misfortunes.

"Wilksbarre stands on a wide and fertile plain. The prospect, on descending the mountains by the creek at Nanticoke, is one of the richest, most extensive and most delightful we have yet seen. The land is in a high state of cultivation. Wilksbarre is the chief town of the county of Luzerne. It is a small place, containing about 100 wooden houses, of a much better appearance than those in Northumberland. The town is seated on the Susquehanna, and

*See "Travels through the United States of America; by the Duke de la Rochefoucault-Liancourt." Vol. I, page 148, second edition, London, 1800.

must in time become considerable, if the country which lies higher up [the river] shall be more generally cultivated. It is even now of some importance, and has about 250 inhabitants. The population of the whole county is estimated at 5,000 souls."

Isaac Weld, Jr., a Dublin Irishman, who came to the United States in November, 1795, journeyed down the Susquehanna from Tioga Point to Wilkes-Barré in November, 1796, and in his "Travels through the States of North America and Canada during 1795, 1796 and 1797,"* makes the following reference to Wilkes-Barré:

"From Tyoga Point, or Lochartzburgh—a small town at the mouth of Tyoga River—to Wilkesbarré, or Wyoming, the distance is about ninety miles, and when the river is full and the current strong you may go down the whole distance in one day; but owing to the lowness of the water we were no less than four days making the journey.

"Wilkesbarré contains about 150 wooden dwelling houses, a court-house and gaol. It was here that the dreadful massacre was committed during the American War. * * Several of the houses in which the unfortunate victims retired to defend themselves, on being refused all quarter, are still standing, perforated in every part with balls; the remains of others that were set on fire are also still to be seen, and the inhabitants will on no account suffer them to be repaired."

A four-page weekly newspaper—the *Wilkesbarre Gazette*—was published at Wilkes-Barré in 1797, but there was not a church building in the town, nor was there a settled gospel minister in Wyoming Valley in 1796 and 1797. There were, however, several lawyers located here, some of whom were college graduates and men of more than local repute. The business of the Courts was conducted in the two-story log Court House which had been completed in 1791, and was the only building standing on Public Square in 1797.

Of course no bridge spanned the Susquehanna at that

*The first edition of this work was published in 1798. A fourth edition was published in 1807.

early day, but there was a public ferry at the foot of Northampton Street. Several inns, or taverns, ordinary in size and appearance and located here and there in the village and conducted by men of character and influence, seem to have done a thriving business at that period in furnishing "entertainment for man and beast." Probably the most pretentious of these inns was the one then conducted by James Morgan (it was later known as Arndt's tavern), located on River Street between Northampton and South Streets, not far from the river ferry.

It was at this inn that the Princes and their servant put up on their arrival here. They had brought with them letters of introduction from Col. Timothy Pickering to some of the principal citizens of the town, by whom, of course, the travelers were cordially received. It did not take long for news of the arrival of these illustrious visitors to become disseminated throughout the Valley. Furthermore, Louis Philippe was a Free Mason, which fact he did not hesitate to make known to the members of the Craft here.

In the Summer of 1797 Lodge No. 61, Free and Accepted Masons, of Wilkes-Barré, was in the fourth year of its existence. It numbered sixteen members, and Capt. Samuel Bowman was Worshipful Master of the Lodge, Judge Jesse Fell was Senior Warden, Maj. Eleazar Blackman was Secretary, Captains George Sytez and John Paul Schott were Past Masters, and Jean François Dupuy was Tyler. The last named was a native of Bordeaux, France, whence he had removed to the Island of St. Domingo—coming from there to the United States in 1791, and settling at Wilkes-Barré in 1795.

It has been a tradition hereabouts for many years that Dupuy was a member of the French National Convention at the time it condemned Louis XVI to death. This event occurred, as narrated hereinbefore, in January, 1793, and at that time and for some two years previously Dupuy was,

unquestionably, a resident of the United States, and could not and did not sit in the National Convention of France.

The members of Lodge No. 61 in 1797, and other Free Masons located here but not affiliated with the Lodge, were prominent and influential citizens of the community, and largely identified with its early history. They entertained their distinguished Brother and his party during their stay in Wilkes-Barré, and I am inclined to believe that, by reason of their intelligence, their knowledge of the world, their *savoir vivre*, those "first" citizens were not only competent to, but did, to the best of their combined abilities, make things pleasant for their foreign Brother and *his* brothers.

There were, however, other reasons, existing just at that time, which impelled the citizens, generally, of Wilkes-Barré, to feel kindly towards the exiled Orléanists and to treat them with consideration. The old order of things in France—the *Ancien Régime*—had changed and changed again since the days of the American Revolution, when the most cordial relations had existed between our two nations. Since then the Constituent Assembly, the Terrorists, the Committee of Public Safety and the National Convention had each in turn endeavored to rule France, and now the Directory was attempting to run the Government. France was in a life and death struggle with nearly the whole of Europe, and was also trying to make trouble with the United States.

Of course, the Orléans Princes, being *émigrés* or exiles from their native land, had no part in these obnoxious and offensive doings and no sympathy with them. In December, 1796, at Philadelphia, Louis Philippe heard Washington deliver to the Congress his last annual address, in the course of which he said:

"It is with much pain and deep regret I mention that circumstances of a very unwelcome nature have lately occurred. Our trade has suffered and is suffering extensive injuries in the West Indies from the cruisers and agents of

the French Republic, and communications have been received from its Minister here which indicate the danger of further disturbance of our commerce by its authority, and which are in many respects far from agreeable."

By 1797 the difficulties of the United States with the Government of France had reached a point little short of war. In June, 1798, a Bill was presented in the United States Senate to define and punish the crime of sedition, and also to define the exact meaning of the word "treason." One section of this Bill declared every Frenchman to be an enemy to the United States, and that to aid or comfort him was treason; while another section declared that a fine should be inflicted upon those who, in speech or in print, upheld France.

Early in the Summer of 1798 the Congress, in prospect of war with France, authorized the levy of an armed force, and on July 3, 1798, President Adams commissioned Washington Lieut. General and Commander-in-Chief of this provisional army.

Feeling ran high in Wyoming Valley in 1797 with respect to Franco-American conditions, and there was no let-up in the following year, as is shown by the following extract from a charge to the Grand Jury delivered by the Hon. Jacob Rush, President Judge of the Courts of Luzerne County, in the Court House at Wilkes-Barré in August, 1798.

"Gentlemen of the Grand Jury: I congratulate you on the dissolution of the political ties that have been the means of connecting us for several years with the French Nation. Thank Heaven, the Gordian knot is at last cut, and we are separated, I trust, forever!

The 17th day of July Congress by law disannulled our treaties with that country, and declared them to be no longer binding upon the United States. * * * From the date of our treaties with France, in the year 1778, no event occurred between the two Nations worthy of notice till the commencement of the war in Europe. * * * The French are, I believe, the first Nation upon earth that have

publicly renounced the obligatory force of treaties, and assumed the profligate position that they may be broken whenever the circumstances of either party may require it.

"It is one thing to transgress the laws of truth and virtue, and another to maintain the lawfulness of the action. The very Algerines and Savages would blush at the thought. * * * Having in vain endeavored to drag us into the vortex of the European war, they have since systematically pursued a plan for the extirpation of our commerce."

The Judge then referred to the infidelity of the French people, to the laxity of their marriage and divorce laws, to their abolishing of the Sabbath, etc., and continued as follows:

"Our country has been too long allied to France! It was the connection of unsuspecting youthful virtue with an old bawd, at one period disguised in the robes of Monarchy, at another in the less fascinating garb of a Republican dress—but invariably the same. * * * Let us, however, gentlemen, indulge the animating hope that the period of our deliverance from this complication of evils is dawning upon us. The 17th of July draws a line, and tears up the foundation of our National connection. Hail, auspicious day! Henceforth the absurd claim of National gratitude will be no longer rung in our ears by ungenerous benefactors. Let the 17th of July be had in everlasting remembrance! Upon the anniversary of that day let the voice of joy and gratitude be heard through our land. From calamities infinitely more to be dreaded than those commemorated upon the 4th of July, it is calculated to secure us. The *one* shielded us only from political dependence and subjection, but the *other*, we flatter ourselves, will be the means of saving us from religious, moral and political destruction."

To this unique and extraordinary charge the Grand Jury presented a reply, beginning:

"HON. JACOB RUSH—Sir: We thank you for the address delivered to us at the opening of the present Court. It contains sentiments so just, principles so well founded and correct, that we take much pleasure in approbating the charge"—etc., etc.

This was signed by Capt. Samuel Bowman, Maj. Eleazar

Blackman, Cornelius Cortright, Naphtali Hurlbut, and fifteen others of the Grand Jury.

Louis Philippe and his party remained at Wilkes-Barré only three or four days, and then, having hired four horses, set out on horseback over the Sullivan Road for Easton, where they took passage in the public stage for Philadelphia, which place they reached on July 31. There, on August 14, the Duke of Montpensier wrote to his sister in part as follows:

"We traveled 1,000 leagues, always upon the same horses, except the last 100 leagues, which we accomplished partly by water, partly on foot, partly on hired horses, and partly in the stage, or public conveyance. We were on our journey four months, and we arrived here fifteen days ago. We found the Falls of Niagara the most interesting object on our journey."

Shortly after the return of the Orléans Princes to Philadelphia an epidemic of yellow fever broke out there, and continued its ravages until late in the Autumn. To escape the disease many residents of the city temporarily removed to other localities—among the number being Louis Philippe and his party, who went over to New York. Thence, after a sojourn of a few days, they sailed for Providence, Rhode Island, whence they journeyed by stage to Boston, arriving there October 21, 1797. Their coming was announced in the *Columbian Centinel*, a newspaper then edited and published by Major Russell, "to whom Louis Philippe made himself known as a Brother Free Mason, and thereby was enabled to replenish his purse."

Several American writers have stated that in October, 1797, Louis Philippe and his brothers were guests in New York of Prince Talleyrand de Périgord* (referred to

*Charles Maurice Talleyrand de Périgord, Prince of Benevento (1754-1838), "the most subtle, shrewd and unprincipled of all modern diplomatists." He was made Bishop of Autun by Louis XVI in January, 1789, although then and later he never showed the least inclination toward a Christian, or even a moral, life. Having been active in the Summer of 1789 in framing the famous "Declaration of Rights," he proposed in the following October the measure

hereinbefore), who accompanied them to Boston. This statement, however, is erroneous, for reasons set forth in the subjoined foot-note.

After a stay of two or more weeks in Boston the Princes made a trip to the "district of Maine" (then, and until 1820, a part of Massachusetts), where, at Gardiner, they were the guests of Maj. Gen. Henry Dearborn.* Returning to New York they determined to join their mother, then in Spain, and they planned to journey thither *via* New Orleans and Havana. At that time Louisiana was still a province of Spain, and New Orleans was full of French refugees and Spanish grantees.

Proceeding to Philadelphia the Princes left there on horseback December 10, 1797. Later they procured a wagon. The route they followed lay through southern Pennsylvania to Carlisle, and thence to Pittsburgh. Wheel-

for the confiscation of church property. In February, 1790, he became President of the French Assembly, and was one of the first among the bishops to take the oath to obey the constitution. For this, and other reasons, he was excommunicated by Pope Pius VI; whereupon he abandoned his clerical profession. In September, 1792, when Royalty was abolished in France and a Republic was declared, Talleyrand went to England, where he remained until some time after the execution of Louis XVI, when he was expelled from that country, and, as narrated hereinbefore, sailed for the United States.

The course of events in France after July, 1794, favored the return of Talleyrand to his native land, and in November, 1795, he set sail for Europe—landing at Hamburg in the following January. In March, 1796, he reappeared in Paris, and thenceforward, almost continuously until his death in 1838, was a notable and influential participant in the public affairs of France.

*Dearborn, as Lieutenant Colonel, commanded in 1779 the 3d New Hampshire Regiment, forming a part of the Sullivan Expedition against the Six Nation Indians in the Summer of that year, and for some time was encamped with his regiment at Wilkes-Barré. In 1781 he became Deputy Quartermaster General, with the rank of Colonel, on the staff of General Washington. In 1797 he was Major General of militia, and was also a Representative in Congress from Massachusetts. He was United States Secretary of War, 1801-1809, and during the War of 1812 was senior Major General of the United States Army. In 1822 he was appointed United States Minister to Portugal. He was a Free Mason. Fort Dearborn, the first building erected (in 1804) on the site of the present city of Chicago, was named in honor of General Dearborn.

ing was the next important town they reached, and then Marietta. Here they disposed of their horses and wagon, bought a small boat, and then set off down the Ohio River. Without mishap they reached, in due time, the Mississippi River, down which they voyaged to New Orleans, where they arrived February 17, 1798.

In the *Wilkesbarre Gazette* of May 1, 1798, the following item concerning the Orleans Princes was printed.

"The sons of the late Duke of Orléans (alias Égalité) arrived at New Orleans the end of February, and were received with great civility by the Government and inhabitants of that settlement. A letter from there, dated March 17, says: 'Reprieves have been granted at their intercession, and our [season of] Lent, which was formerly rigidly devoted to fasting and prayer, has become a festival of mirth and pleasure.'"

After a stay of five or more weeks at New Orleans the Princes sailed for Havana, where they remained for two months. Then they voyaged to the Bahamas, and thence, after some delay, to Halifax. For one reason and another they were unable to secure a passage to England until the end of the year 1799. In the meantime that "dark day in French history, known as the 18th Brumaire (November 9, 1799)," had occurred, when the first Napoleonic *coup d'état* took place, resulting in the overthrow of the Directory, the end of the First Republic, and the appointment of Napoleon Bonaparte as First Consul.

When the Princes landed at Falmouth, England, in February, 1800, they first learned of the events of the previous November and December, and that Bonaparte's power was firmly established in France. In consequence they made no attempt to proceed either to France or to Spain—in which latter country their mother was still residing. Instead, they settled down in a home of their own (afterwards known as "Orleans House") at Twickenham, on the river Thames, about twelve miles southwest of London.

The two younger Princes—one twenty-one and the other twenty-five years of age—were at this time in delicate health, and a few years later Beaujolais, in order to better his physical condition, went to the Island of Malta. There he died in 1807. The same year Montpensier died at Twickenham. His remains are entombed in Westminster Abbey, where an expensive marble monument has been erected to his memory. It is surmounted by a life-size recumbent statue, and bears an inscription reading in part as follows: "*Princeps illustrissimus et serenissimus Antonius Philippus Dux de Montpensier.*"

Undoubtedly those of you who have gone through Westminster Abbey on a sight-seeing trip have had this monument pointed out to you; but, like myself, did not realize at the time that it covered the remains of a one-time visitor to Wilkes-Barré.

Louis Philippe remained at Twickenham—"for the most part in studious retirement"—until after the deaths of his brothers, when, in 1808, he visited Palermo, Sicily. There, on November 25, 1809, he was married to the Princess Marie Amélie, daughter of Ferdinand I, King of the Two Sicilies.

Meanwhile, on May 18, 1804, the French Senate, by a formal and solemn decree, had invested Napoleon Bonaparte with the rank, title and prerogatives of "Emperor of the French." His coronation took place at Paris in the following December. Less than ten years later, however, Napoleon was forced by the four great Powers of Europe inimical to France to abdicate as Emperor and to retire to the island of Elba as a prisoner of those Powers. The House of Bourbon was now restored to its ancient place in France, in the person of Louis Stanislas Xavier de France, a younger brother of the late King Louis XVI. Upon his coronation he assumed the title of Louis XVIII.

Thereupon Louis Philippe hastened from Sicily to Paris, where he was courteously but not very cordially received by

the new King. However, his military rank of Lieutenant General was confirmed to him by the King, and in the uniform of his rank, and accompanied by his wife and two children and many Nobles of the realm, he took possession of the Palais Royal, the former home of his family.

Unfortunately, ten months of Bourbon rule—"vengeful, implacable, stupid; alike violent in act and in language—sufficed to bring France once more to the brink of revolution." To cap the climax, Napoleon, accompanied by a considerable number of his tried and trusted followers, surreptitiously departed from Elba and landed on the shores of France on March 1, 1815. Eighteen days later Louis XVIII, accompanied by two officials of his household, sneaked out of the Tuileries late at night, in the midst of a fearful storm, and set off post-haste for Ghent, in Flanders. Notwithstanding their haste they did not forget to take with them the crown jewels!

A few hours after the departure of the King, Napoleon entered Paris and repaired to the Tuileries, where he found, already assembled in the throne-room, many members of his family, together with several of his former ministers and intimate servitors.

Of course many Orleanists and Royalists departed from France as expeditiously as possible when the flight of the King and the coming of Napoleon were made known. Louis Philippe and his family set off for Twickenham.

In the then state of affairs the army of France was master of the country. It had restored Napoleon, and now all Europe was hurrying to battle, and besides foreign war there was civil war. The allied sovereigns in Congress at Vienna declared: "Napoleon has placed himself outside the pale of civil and social relations, and as enemy and disturber of the peace of the world he is delivered to public vengeance." Thus they outlawed not only the Emperor, but France. "We march," they declared, "to divide this impious land. It is necessary to exterminate this band of

brigands called the French army. The world cannot rest in peace while there remains a French people!"

The battle of Waterloo was fought June 18, 1815, and three days later Napoleon was back in Paris, his own fate and that of his empire and that of France decided adversely. On June 23 his final abdication as Emperor took place, and before many weeks had passed he was on his way to St. Helena, in the custody of the representatives of the English Government.

The Allies took possession of Paris as of a conquered city, and the libraries, museums and collections of art and treasure were given up to pillage. The Chamber of Deputies thought that the Allies would deal with it; but the invaders closed the hall of assembly and replaced Louis XVIII on the throne.

Once more Louis Philippe returned from exile to the Palais Royal. Whereupon such of the vast Orléans estates as had been sequestered by the Imperial Government, but had not been sold, were restored to him by royal ordinance. The immediate effect was to make him enormously rich, while, by his natural aptitude for business, his wealth was rapidly increased until, after the death of his mother in 1821, he was believed to possess a fortune amounting to £8,000,000.

Upon coming into possession of his ancestral estates and dignities, Louis Philippe reassumed the rank and title of Duke of Orléans, which he had had little occasion or opportunity to use for a considerable number of years. The Palais Royal, his Paris residence, now became the rendezvous of the leaders of certain political factions, by whom the Duke was ultimately to be raised to the throne. He managed, however, during the lifetime of Louis XVIII to keep aloof from political intrigues. On September 16, 1824, the King died, and was succeeded by his younger brother, the Count d'Artois, who assumed the title of Charles X.

Never did a monarch ascend a throne with fairer

prospects and greater advantages; never was one precipitated from it under circumstances of greater disaster. At the very outset of the French Revolution Edmund Burke declared that, if the deposed Bourbons were ever to be restored, it must be by a Sovereign who could "sit eight hours a day on horseback." No sovereign could be so far removed from this requisite as Louis XVIII, whose figure was so bulky and unwieldy and his physical infirmities so great, that, for some years before his death, he had to be wheeled about his apartments in an arm-chair.

But the case was very different with his successor. No captain in the royal guards managed his charger with more skill and address, or exhibited in greater perfection the noble art of horsemanship, than Charles X. No courtier in his salons was more perfect in all the graces which dignify manners, and cause the inequalities of rank to be forgotten, in the courtesy with which their distinctions are thrown aside.

The new King made his public entry into Paris on September 27, 1824. The day was gloomy, and the rain fell in torrents as he moved through the streets, surrounded by a brilliant cortege. But nothing could dampen the ardor of the people. Mounted on an Arab steed of mottled silver color, which he managed with perfect skill, Charles traversed the whole distance between St. Cloud and the Tuileries, bowing to the people in acknowledgment of their salutations with that inimitable grace which proclaimed him at once the first gentleman in his dominions. Never had a French monarch been received with such universal joy by his subjects. "He is charming as Hope!" said one of the numerous ladies who were enchanted by his manner.

Honest, sincere and affable as the new King was, yet his popularity soon vanished when it was seen how entirely he was under the control of his priestly confessor; while the ceremonies of his coronation at Rheims showed that he intended to revive the almost forgotten past. In the words

of Guizot—the famous French statesman and historian—“Louis XVIII was a moderate of the old system, and a liberal-minded inheritor of the 18th century; Charles X was a true *émigré*, and a submissive bigot.”

The reign of Charles lasted nearly six years, during which period not only every liberal sentiment but every national sentiment was often defied and violated by the King and his Ministers. In April, 1827, the National Guards were disbanded by royal command, but were foolishly allowed to retain their arms, which were soon to be used against the Government. Charles next created seventy-six new peers, to outvote his opponents in the Upper House of the Assembly.

Finally, on July 25, 1830, at St. Cloud, the King and his Ministers drew up the famous “Ordinances” which brought matters to a crisis. The first of these suspended the liberty of the press; the second dissolved the newly-elected Chamber of Deputies, before it had even met; the third excluded licensed dealers from the franchise; the fourth summoned a new Chamber under the new conditions, every one of which violated the Charter granted by the late King.

These Ordinances, published in the *Moniteur* on July 26, burst on the nation like a thunderbolt. At first the people seemed stupefied—but they were only waiting and consulting. The day of Louis Philippe was now near at hand! On July 27 the dissatisfaction of the city became articulate. The middle classes and the working people began to express their feelings; street orators were active, and stones were thrown at the police outside the Palais Royal; barricades were raised in the many narrow streets which favored street-defense; men formed themselves into bands; shots were fired, and the pavements had begun to be stained with human blood. But the movement had begun outside the popular quarters of the city; the mass of the people had not yet joined it.

However, the last rays of the setting sun on that day

shone on a well-nigh forgotten sight—the tri-color flag, which had formerly sprung from the ruins of the Bastille, to wave over a nation rescued and delivered from tyranny. This was the proscribed flag, which, throughout Europe, lay hidden in the depths of Frenchmen's memories, as the symbol of liberties destroyed and nations remorselessly crushed; and on that 27th day of July an unknown man ran along the Paris quays waving this proscribed tri-color. Whoever this man was, he had thoroughly grasped the spirit of the situation. The question at issue had ceased to be the maintenance of a royal Constitution or Charter, the downfall of a Minister, or the re-establishment of a King. The cause of popular liberty was now supreme. The question at issue was between the people and the Bourbons.

On July 28 the people rose in arms. Combatants seemed to spring up in myriads, as if they rose out of the very ground; the streets were bristling with barricades, and a battle seemed to be raging at every cross-street. On the morning of the 29th fighting began again; by evening the soldiers of the King were defeated and were on their way to St. Cloud, where Charles had been for some days, and Paris was in the hands of the mob.

More than 5,000 civilians and 700 soldiers were killed or wounded in these terrible three days of July, 1830, which ended all attempts to re-establish the tyranny of the *Ancien Régime*. The victims were appropriately buried in the Place de la Bastille.

During the three "July days" the Duke of Orléans kept himself in the background. Meanwhile Thiers (famous for many years as a statesman and historian of France) issued a proclamation, pointing out that a Republic would imbroider France with all Europe, while the Duke of Orléans—who was "a Prince devoted to the principles of the Revolution," and had "carried the tri-color under fire"—would be a "*Citizen King*" such as the country desired.

The Duke, who had been spending some time with his

family on his estate at Neuilly, returned to Paris on July 30. The same day some fifty Deputies met at the Palais Bourbon and elected Louis Philippe, Duke of Orléans, "*Lieutenant Général du Royaume*" [Lieutenant General of the Realm]. The Duke hesitated to accept the office, and tried to gain time for deliberation, but finally gave way—persuaded, it is said, by the advice of Talleyrand.

The next day he formally accepted the office and issued a proclamation ending with the words: "*La Charte sera désormais une vérité*" [the Charter shall be henceforth a reality]!* The same day, wearing a tri-color scarf across his breast, and preceded by a drummer, the Duke went on foot from the Palais Royal to the Hotel de Ville—then the headquarters of the Republican party.

A good deal of dissatisfaction was manifested in the streets as the Duke passed on his way. People were saying to themselves, "What, another Bourbon?" An adverse movement seemed imminent, but it did not take place. At the Hotel de Ville General the Marquis de La Fayette (who had assumed the command of the National Guard on July 29) appeared on the balcony and was received with acclamations. He publicly embraced the Duke, as a symbol that the Republicans acknowledged the impossibility of realizing their own ideals, and were prepared to accept a monarchy based on the popular will.

The "Society of the Friends of the People" (an organization of radical Republicans), not very well pleased with this result of the "Great Week" (as the week of the July Revolution was called), laid before Lafayette, on the following day, their program, and commissioned him to make the Duke, by his signature, guarantee the popular rights therein set forth.

With this document in his pocket Lafayette visited the Duke at the Palais Royal, and, in the course of conversation,

*This event is perpetuated by a painting by Court, in the palace at Versailles.

said to him: "You know that I am a Republican, and consider the American Constitution the most perfect." "I am of the same opinion," replied the Duke; "no one could have been two years in America and not share that view. But do you think that that Constitution could be adopted in France in its present condition—with the present state of popular opinion?" "No," said Lafayette, "what France needs is a popular monarchy surrounded by republican—thoroughly republican—institutions." "There I quite agree with you," rejoined the Duke. Enchanted with this political harmony the old General considered it unnecessary to present the program which he had in his pocket, and he repaired to the Republican headquarters and went security for the Duke—the patriot of 1789. The name of Orléans was then so popular in Paris that opposition to the Duke was out of the question.

On August 7, 1830, the Chamber of Deputies declared Charles X deposed, and on August 9 the Duke of Orléans—having received 219 of the 252 votes of the Chamber—was solemnly proclaimed at the Palais Bourbon "Louis Philippe I, King of the French, by the Grace of God and the will of the people." This was the end of absolutism in France!

The July Revolution was "the last flicker of the flame of 1789," and was the commencement of a new era in the liberties of Europe. "It gave an impulse to the revolution in Belgium; to the insurrection in Poland; to the democratic constitutions of Switzerland; to political reforms in several of the States of Germany; and to parliamentary reform in England. Its influence was felt in Italy, in Spain and in Portugal; in Hungary, and in the Slavonic provinces of Austria. The period of reaction was now closed, to be succeeded by the progressive development of constitutional freedom."

When France passed from the rule of the Legitimists to that of the Orléanists great hopes were entertained by the

Constitutional party that this renewal of the monarchy would result in permanent benefits. At first the new King enjoyed great popularity. He defended his conduct toward the elder branch of the Bourbons by protesting that he acted for the welfare of France. While he was a prince at heart, he showed himself a *bourgeois* in form. Revolutionary by his memories, he was reactionary from the fear which these memories inspired in him.

The first acts of Louis Philippe's reign were prudent and modest. In some respects his government, compared with that of his predecessor, was liberal, and one of the early acts of his reign was an extension of the suffrage by decreasing the amount of the property qualifications for voters. The double vote was suppressed; also the great electoral colleges, which, under the Restoration, had been founded as citadels of the aristocracy to control the electoral *bourgeoisie*. He cultivated peaceful relations with foreign powers, sought to strengthen his throne by gaining the support of the middle classes, and repressed all the extreme parties by what became known as the "*juste-milieu*" policy.

As he said of himself, he was ever a pacific King; but, occupying the position of mediator between violent and unreasoning factions, the fury of the contending parties was frequently turned against him, and he found the throne of France no bed of roses. He used the full power of his position and abilities to increase the prosperity of France, to reestablish order, and, as far as possible, preserve peace at home and abroad. He reorganized, and vastly increased the efficiency of, both the army and the navy. Finding on his hands the war with Algeria, he prosecuted it with vigor to a successful termination. Under him public works received a great impulse, and liberal legislation was widely extended; the Pantheon was restored to the use for which it was designed in 1791, which was to receive the remains of the deceased great men of France; Paris was encircled with ramparts, protected by enormous forts. This last-

mentioned measure—which was carried out in about seven years, at a cost of 140,000,000 francs—was variously regarded by different parties. The liberals looked upon it as a military precaution against foreign foes; the Court, as a means of subduing Paris in case of need.

In 1840 the King, in accordance with the advice of his Ministers, and as a means of exciting patriotic feeling, resolved to demand from England the remains of the Emperor Napoleon, who had died at St. Helena in May, 1821. Lord Palmerston granted the demand, and the King's son, the Prince de Joinville, on board the frigate *La Belle Poule*,* set out for St. Helena. The voyage was made without mishap, and on December 15, 1840, the body of Napoleon, attended by an immense and splendid military escort, and amidst a crowd of 600,000 spectators, was received at the Church of the Invalides, Paris, by the King, the royal family, and the Archbishop and all the clergy of Paris.

Louis Philippe gave every encouragement to the arts, literature, and industrial pursuits. Early in his reign he founded in the royal palace at Versailles the *Musée Historique*, containing sculptures and paintings illustrating the chief events of French history. The galleries of the *Musée* were thrown open to the public for the first time on May 30, 1837, upon the occasion of the marriage of the King's eldest son, Ferdinand, Duke of Orléans, to the Princess Helen of Mecklenburg. At the same time the King granted an amnesty to all criminal and political offenders who were then in prison in France.

Louis Philippe had a warm place in his heart for Ameri-

*This vessel was one of the French men-of-war sent to this country during the War of the Revolution to aid the struggling colonists, and from it boomed the first gun fired by the French navy in behalf of American independence. In September, 1841, *La Belle Poule*, in command of the Prince de Joinville, arrived at New York. The Prince was entertained there and in other eastern cities, and then journeyed to Washington, where he became the guest of President Tyler.

cans, and was fond of recalling his experiences in the United States and particularly in Philadelphia. Therefore, soon after inaugurating the *Musée Historique*, he established in the palace at Versailles an "American Gallery," to be devoted solely to a collection of paintings illustrating historic events and personages in North America.

Among the artists commissioned by the King to paint a number of pictures for this Gallery was George Catlin, a native of Wilkes-Barré. He was born here July 26, 1796 (just one year—almost to a day—prior to the visit of Louis Philippe and his brothers to our town), being the fifth child and third son of the fourteen children of Putnam and Polly (Sutton) Catlin. Putnam Catlin, son of Capt. Eli and Elizabeth (Way) Catlin, was born at Litchfield, Connecticut, April 5, 1764. He was a fife-major in the Second Connecticut Regiment of the American army from January, 1777, till June 9, 1783, and for his six years of faithful service was honored with the "badge of merit." He then studied law at Litchfield, where he was admitted to the Bar in the Summer of 1786. At Litchfield, under the date of November 4, 1786, Lynde Lord wrote to Col. Zebulon Butler, at Wilkes-Barré, in part as follows:*

"I take the liberty to recommend to you my friend, Mr. Putnam Catlin (the bearer hereof), as a gentleman who, in my opinion, bids fair to make a useful member of society. He has been regularly bred an attorney, and has a mind to settle in your parts of the country, in case he finds the place agreeable to his wishes. His abilities and moral character you may depend will fully answer expectations. I wish he may meet with your patronage and assistance as to getting him into business, in case he should agree to settle with you."

Young Catlin came to Wilkes-Barré early in 1787, and when, in May of that year, the Courts of the new County of Luzerne were organized, Putnam Catlin was one of the four attorneys admitted to practise before the County Courts.

*The original letter is now in the collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

Two years later he was married to Mary ("Polly") Sutton (born September 30, 1770; died July 15, 1844), daughter of James and Sarah (*Smith*) Sutton of Wyoming Valley.

In addition to practising his profession in Luzerne and neighboring Counties, Mr. Catlin was Clerk to the Luzerne County Commissioners from 1788 till November, 1795. About that time Col. Timothy Pickering (mentioned herein-before) wrote to the Hon. Alexander Hamilton in part as follows:*

"One or two new lawyers have settled in Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, since I left it in 1791. I am not perfectly clear in recommending any of the old ones. I have it in my power to make enquiry which I believe may be satisfactory, and will inform you of the result.

"The town you refer to is not Wilkesburg or Wilkesborough, but *Wilkesbarré*—from John Wilkes and Colonel Barré.

"I have this moment recollected a former inhabitant of Wilkesbarré now here [at Trenton, New Jersey], on whose knowledge and opinion I can rely. He thinks Putnam Catlin, Esq., the most eligible lawyer for such an agent as is called for. Such was my opinion also, having known him there for four or five years; but as the trust was of magnitude, I wished not to rely on my own knowledge, which was less intimate than that of the person of whom I have now made the enquiry.

"This person thinks Mr. Catlin not only the most eligible, but that his integrity may be entirely relied on, and I was disposed to entertain the same opinion. I remember he always engaged with the most earnest zeal in the cause of his clients, and all his actions manifested a frankness of heart; nor has anything ever occurred, to my recollection, to excite even an unfavorable impression of the rectitude of his character."

In the Summer of 1797 Mr. Catlin removed with his wife and four children from Wilkes-Barré to a farm in what is now Broome County, New York. Eleven years later the family removed to Hop Bottom, Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania, where, in June, 1813, Mr. Catlin was ap-

*See the "Pickering Papers," XXXVII: 332.

pointed Post Master. Early in 1818 the family (including Capt. Eli Catlin,* father of Putnam) took up their residence in Montrose, in the same County, where, until 1821 at least, Mr. Catlin was Cashier of the Silver Lake Bank. In 1821 Mr. Catlin removed with his family to a farm at Great Bend, Pennsylvania, where he died in 1842. *

As a boy George Catlin was sent by his father to Wilkes-Barré to study at the Wilkes-Barré Academy, then a school of some note. In June, 1817, being then nearly twenty-one years of age, he went to Litchfield, Connecticut, where, for the ensuing fourteen and a-half months, he was a student in the law school of Tapping Reeve and James Gould. In October, 1818, having completed his studies and received from his preceptors a certificate to that effect, he was admitted to the Bar of Litchfield County. Two months later he located in Wilkes-Barré, where, on January 4, 1819, he was admitted to the Bar of Luzerne County.

While a student at Litchfield Mr. Catlin painted a portrait of Judge Reeve, one of his preceptors, of which, some years later, after the death of the judge, he proposed to have an engraved plate made, and to sell prints from the same. Not meeting with sufficient encouragement, however, he never had the plate engraved.

Relative to his attempts to practise law at Wilkes-Barré, Mr. Catlin wrote many years later:

"My first case was the defense of an Irishman, who was arraigned for stealing a hand-saw and a broad-ax. The prisoner acknowledged to me that he had stolen the articles; but, notwithstanding this, by making the worse appear the better cause, I succeeded in convincing the jury that he was not guilty. The man afterwards asked me whether or not I had informed the jury that he had stolen the articles. 'No,' was the answer; to which my client replied: 'How then did they acquit me? Did you not say that, to get me clear, I must tell you the truth?'"

*Captain Catlin died March 13, 1820. His wife died April 4, 1796, at Wilkes-Barré, and is buried in the City Cemetery, as is also George Catlin's sister Juliette.

Concerning his life as a Wilkes-Barré lawyer Mr. Catlin wrote:

"During this time (from 1819 to 1823), while practising law, another and stronger passion was getting the advantage of me—that for painting, to which all of my love of pleading soon gave way; and, after having covered nearly every inch of the lawyers' table [in the court-room], and even encroached upon the Judge's bench, with penknife, pen and ink and pencil sketches of judges, jurors and culprits, I very deliberately resolved to convert my law library into paint pots and brushes, and to pursue painting as my future and, apparently, more agreeable profession."

Consequently, in the Summer of 1823, Mr. Catlin removed from Wilkes-Barré to Philadelphia, where he was soon admitted to the fellowship of Thomas Sully, Charles Wilson Peale, Rembrandt Peale and other artists of that period. February 18, 1824, he was admitted "as a Pennsylvania Academician" to the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. About that time he had painted miniatures in water colors on ivory of the following-named subjects: "Ariadne," after Sir Joshua Reynolds; "Napoleon, 1821"; "Col. Timothy Pickering"; "Captain Morgan, U. S. N."; "Persico" and "Madonna and Child." As a painter of miniatures he was most successful, and deservedly ranked high, although as an artist he was entirely self-taught.

In the pursuit of his calling during the period 1824-1829 Mr. Catlin visited Washington, where he painted the portraits of a number of well-known personages—notably, Mrs. Dolly Madison (wife of former President Madison), in a turban, a picture which has been reproduced many times. In the Summer of 1828 Mr. Catlin visited Albany, New York, and painted portraits of many of the members of the State Legislature, and other prominent men. Among these was a portrait of Gov. De Witt Clinton, which now hangs in the Governor's Room in the City Hall, New York.

At Richmond, in 1829-'30, Mr. Catlin painted a picture of the Virginia State Constitutional Convention, then in

session. *The Wyoming Herald* (Wilkes-Barré), in its issue of December 25, 1829, referred to this picture in these words:

"Mr. George Catlin, a distinguished painter from New York [*sic*], whose fine exhibition of DeWitt Clinton graces the City Hall, New York, is now in Richmond, Virginia, taking a picture of the Virginia Convention, in the style of Trumbull's 'Declaration of American Independence.' Mr. Catlin proposes to give a likeness of each of the ninety-six members, with Mr. Monroe in the chair and Mr. Madison on the floor."

In 1829, while in Philadelphia, Mr. Catlin saw a band of ten or fifteen Indians, from the wilds of the far West, passing through the city en route to Washington on treaty business. Their dress and trappings at once caught his eye, and turned his mind to the idea of establishing a "North American Indian Gallery", by means of which the "looks and customs of the vanishing races of native man in America" could be rescued and preserved from oblivion. He was a lover of the Indians, and was early captured by their native grace and dignity and their "inalienable and uncompromising tenacity of unbounded freedom." He had a foreboding of the probable future of the red men. He believed they would soon disappear, and so he labored to perpetuate their memories and customs.

He became an enthusiast in this work, and necessarily so, for no one but an enthusiast could have executed so difficult a task and done it so thoroughly. He hoped and believed that his work would survive him, and throughout his writings can be found the frequently-occurring statement that he was "painting for the future".

From 1832 till 1871, a period of forty years, he untiringly followed his life-work; and during this period, in all lands and in all climes, in North and South America and in Europe, his name was a familiar one. For six years (1832-1837) he lived and painted among the trappers, hunters and

traders and thirty-eight different tribes of Indians (speaking different languages) in the far West.

When he first began his travels the "Indian country" was understood to embrace a portion of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Florida, part of Alabama, and the country west of the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains, and in Oregon. It was generally considered to be any lands over which Indians roamed, or upon which they lived, and it embraced an indefinite area. The smoke of the Indian wigwam ascended from places now occupied by thriving cities. Sky-scrapers may be seen where the red man pitched his tent and hunted big game.

In 1837 Mr. Catlin returned to New York, where he placed his collections (494 pictures and numerous curiosities) on public exhibition. In 1838 he spent some time painting among the Indians in Florida, and during portions of the years 1838 and 1839 exhibited his "Indian Gallery" in New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Boston and other cities. He then decided to take his collections to Europe, and in the Autumn of 1839 he sailed from New York for Liverpool with 600 portraits and other paintings, several thousand specimens of original Indian costumes, weapons, etc., and two grizzly bears from the Rocky Mountains in a large iron cage.

Mr. Catlin opened his exhibition in Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, London, in the latter part of January, 1840. It was visited by many of the nobility, by members of the royal family, by the editors of the leading literary and scientific journals of London, and by a large number of the general public. On three evenings of each week Mr. Catlin gave public lectures on Indian life, illustrating them with *tableaux vivants*. He was much sought after in London society, and was often entertained in private houses by the nobility and others—scientists and investigators. In July, 1842, he delivered, by invitation, a lecture before the Royal Institution of Great Britain, and on subsequent occasions delivered addresses before other societies and organizations.

In the preface, or introduction, to the published catalog of his exhibits, Mr. Catlin printed the following:

"I wish to inform the visitors to my collection that, having some years since become fully convinced of the rapid decline and certain extinction of the numerous tribes of North American Indians, and seeing also the vast importance and value which a full pictorial history of these interesting, but dying, people might be to future ages, I set out alone, unaided and unadvised, resolved—if my life should be spared—by the aid of my brush and my pen, to rescue from oblivion so much of their primitive looks and customs as the industry and ardent enthusiasm of one lifetime could accomplish, and set them up in a gallery *unique and imperishable*, for the use and benefit of future ages.

"I devoted eight years of my life exclusively to the accomplishment of my design, and that with more than expected success.

"I visited, with great difficulty and some hazard to life, forty-eight tribes (residing within the United States, British and Mexican territories), containing about half a million of souls. I have seen them in their own villages, have carried my canvas and colors the whole way, and painted my portraits, etc., from the life, as they stand and are seen in this gallery.

"The collection contains (besides an immense number of costumes and other manufactures) near 600 paintings, 350 of which are portraits of distinguished men and women of the different tribes, and 250 other paintings descriptive of Indian countries, their villages, games and customs; containing in all about 3000 figures.

"As this immense collection has been gathered, and every painting has been made from nature, *by my own hand*—and that, too, when I have been paddling my canoe, or leading my pack-horse over and through trackless wilds, at the hazard of my life—the world will surely be kind and indulgent enough to receive and estimate them, as they have been intended, as true and facsimile traces of individual life and historical facts, and forgive me for their present unfinished and unstudied condition as works of art."

[Signed] "GEO. CATLIN."

Early in 1843 Mr. Catlin closed his London exhibition-hall and removed his collections to Liverpool, and during

the ensuing eight months gave exhibitions in that city, Chester, Leamington, Rugby, Stratford-on-Avon, Sheffield, York, Hull, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Belfast, Dublin, Manchester and other cities. While he was at Manchester a party of nine Ojibbeway, or Chippeway, Indians, from the northern shore of Lake Huron, in Canada, arrived in England, brought thither for exhibition purposes by a Mr. Arthur Rankin, who entered into an arrangement with Mr. Catlin whereby these Indians were to form a part of the latter's exhibition.

The first public appearance in Manchester of these Indians was on the occasion of their drive in an omnibus to the exhibition-hall. The members of the party were all clad in animal skins of their own dressing, their head-dresses being of eagles' quills and the feathers of wild turkeys. Their faces were daubed and streaked with vermillion and black and green paint. They were armed with their war-clubs, bows, quivers, tomahawks and scalping-knives. Their yells and war-whoops, which they occasionally sounded during their passage through the streets, caused much excitement.

The Mayor of the city, together with the editor of *The Manchester Guardian*, and several other gentlemen, had been invited to the hall to see the first effect the exhibits displayed there would have on the Indians. It proved to be a very curious scene. As the party of red men entered the hall they beheld the portraits of several hundred of the chiefs and warriors of their own tribe and of their enemies hanging on the walls and staring at them from every direction, while scattered through the room were wigwams, costumes and weapons of many forms. The Indians immediately set up the most frightful yells, and made the whole neighborhood resound with their howlings. They advanced to the portraits of their friends and offered them their hands, while at their enemies, whom they occasionally recognized, they brandished their tomahawks or drew their bows as they sounded the war-whoop.

From Manchester Mr. Catlin journeyed with his collections and Indians to London, where, about a month later, Queen Victoria expressed a desire to have Mr. Catlin conduct the Indians to Windsor Castle for the delectation of Her Majesty and her *entourage*. A week later Mr. Catlin and the nine Ojibbeways—in their richest and most brilliant costumes—were received by the Queen, the Prince Consort, the Duchess of Kent, and other royalties, in the Waterloo Gallery of Windsor Castle.

Some days later Mr. Catlin opened his exhibition in Egyptian Hall, where entertainments were given daily until February, 1844, when the Ojibbeways withdrew from the exhibition and left London.

Mr. Catlin then, leaving the management of his exhibition to one of his employes, devoted himself during the ensuing three months to the preparation for publication of an elaborate work entitled "Catlin's Hunting Scenes and Amusements of the North American Indians." This was in portfolio form (atlas, 4to), and contained twenty-five large tinted drawings on stone; some colored by hand, in imitation of the author's sketches. This work was sold by subscription (at five and eight guineas per copy), and the subscription-list was "headed by the illustrious names of Her Gracious Majesty the Queen, Louis Philippe, King of the French, the Emperor of Russia (who at that time was paying a visit to Queen Victoria), the King of the Belgians, His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, and many of the nobility of England." This work was published "at Egyptian Hall, London," early in June, 1844.

About the middle of July, 1844, Mr. Catlin learned that a party of fourteen Iowa Indians from the Upper Missouri, near the Rocky Mountains, headed by "White Cloud," the hereditary first chief of the tribe, had arrived at Liverpool in charge of Mr. G. H. C. Melody, and were on their way to London. This party had come overseas for exhibition purposes by joint permission of the Hon. James Madison

Porter, of Easton, Pennsylvania, United States Secretary of War, and of the Hon. Vespasian Ellis, Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Shortly after the arrival of these Indians in London Mr. Catlin arranged to have them appear in his exhibition at Egyptian Hall. There they remained for a few weeks, and then a change was made to Vauxhall Gardens. About the middle of October, 1844, Mr. Catlin removed his gallery and Indians to Birmingham, whence, after exhibiting for some time, the "outfit" fared forth on a tour of some of the principal cities of England, Scotland and Ireland, to be followed by a visit to France. Leeds, York, Edinburgh, Dundee, Newcastle-on-Tyne and Dublin (where they arrived March 4, 1845) were some of the places visited.

From Dublin the party proceeded by boat to Liverpool. On landing at the dock there the Indians recognized the spot where they had first set foot upon English soil, and they immediately raised the yell (somewhat similar to the war-whoop) which is given by Indian war-parties when, returning from battle, they get their first glimpse of their native village. This caused, in a few minutes, a great crowd of idlers to gather, which the police constables found it difficult to disperse. Soon after their arrival in Liverpool "Roman Nose", one of the Indians, who had been in ill health for some time, died of consumption, and in consequence only a few exhibitions were given in that city. The party then moved on to Manchester, where four exhibitions were given.

Mr. Catlin, accompanied by his wife and four children, arrived in Paris from England about April 1, 1845, and a few days later his assistants reached Paris with the Indians and eight tons of exhibits. The *Salle Valentino**, a large hall at 251, Rue St. Honoré (near the Palais Royal

*When I was in Paris in 1875 and 1876 the *Salle Valentino* was in use as a public ball-room and skating-rink, and was frequented by a pretty fast lot of citizens and citizenesses.

and the Louvre), was hired by Mr. Catlin, and the work of installing his exhibits therein was begun.

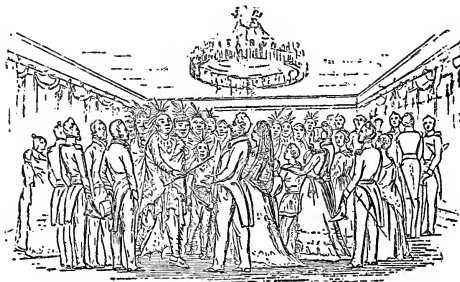
Shortly thereafter the Hon. William R. King, United States Minister to France, wrote to Mr. Catlin that, on a certain day and at a certain hour, His Majesty, King Louis Philippe, would receive Messrs. Catlin and Melody, "with the Iowa Indians, in the palace of the Tuileries." Describing the visit of the Iowas to the King Mr. Catlin wrote as follows:

"On the morning of the day for their reception the long stem of a beautiful pipe had been painted a bright blue and ornamented with blue ribbons, emblematical of peace, to be presented by the war-chief to the King. Every article of dress and ornament had been put in readiness, and, as the hour approached, each one came out from his toilet in a full blaze of color of various tints, all with their wampum and medals on, with their necklaces of grizzly bears' claws, their shields and bows and quivers, their lances and war-clubs, tomahawks and scalping-knives.

"In this way, in full dress, with their painted buffalo robes wrapped around them, they stepped into the several carriages prepared for them, and all were wheeled into the *Place du Carrousel* and put down at the entrance to the palace. We were met on the steps by half a dozen huge and splendid looking porters in flaming scarlet liveries and powdered wigs, who conducted us in, and, being met by one of the King's *aides-de-camp*, we were conducted by him into His Majesty's presence, in the reception-hall of the Tuileries.

"The royal party were advancing towards us in the hall, and as we met them Mr. Melody and myself were presented, and I then introduced the party, each one in person, according to his rank or standing, as the King desired. A sort of *conversazione* took place there, which lasted for half an hour or more, in which I was called upon to explain their weapons, costumes, &c., and which seemed to afford great amusement to the royal personages assembled around and amongst us, who were: Their Majesties, the King and the Queen, the Duchess of Orléans and the Comte de Paris, the Princess Adelaide, the Prince and Princess de Joinville, the Duke and Duchess d'Aumale, and His Royal Highness the Duke de Brabant.

"His Majesty, in the most free and familiar manner (which showed that he had been accustomed to the modes and feelings of Indians), conversed with the chiefs, and said to Jeffrey [the interpreter], 'Tell these good fellows that I am glad to see them; that I have been in many of the wigwams of the Indians in America when I was a young man, and they treated me everywhere kindly, and I love them for it. Tell them I was amongst the Senecas, near Buffalo, and the Oneidas; that I slept in the wigwams of the chiefs; that I was amongst the Shawnees and Delawares on the Ohio, and also amongst the Cherokees and Creeks in Georgia and Tennessee, and saw many other tribes as I descended the Ohio River the whole length, and also the Mississippi, in a small boat, nearly fifty years ago.' This



KING LOUIS PHILIPPE'S RECEPTION TO GEORGE CATLIN
AND THE IOWA INDIANS, APRIL, 1845.

(A reduced facsimile of a drawing by Mr. Catlin.)

made the Indians stare, and the women, according to a custom of their people, placed their hands over their mouths as they uttered groans of surprise.

"'Tell them, also, Jeffrey,' said the King, that I am pleased to see their wives and little children they have with them here, and glad also to show them my family, who are now nearly all around me. Tell them, Jeffrey, that this is the Queen; this lady [the Princess Adelaide] is my sister; these [the Prince de Joinville and the Duke d'Aumale] are two of my sons, with their wives; and these little lads [the Comte de Paris and the Duke de Brabant] are my grandsons. This one, if he lives, will be King of the Belgians, and that one King of the French.'

"The King then took from his pocket two large gold medals, with his own portrait in relief on one side of them, and told me he wished to present them to the two chiefs with his own hand, and wished Jeffrey to explain to them that, after presenting them in that way, he wished them to hand them back to him that he might have a proper inscription engraved upon them, when he would return them and silver medals of equal size to each of the other Indians, with their names engraved upon them.*

"After the medals were thus presented and returned, 'Walking Rain', the war-chief, took from under his robe the beautiful pipe which he had prepared, and, advancing towards the King, and holding it with both hands, bent forward and laid it down at His Majesty's feet as a present, Having done so, he reached down, and, taking it up, placed it in His Majesty's hands, and then, assuming his proud attitude of the orator, addressed Their Majesties in these words:" * * *

Following the chief's oration the Indians gave some of their most interesting dances, and then, before their departure from the palace, were regaled with an abundance of rich refreshments, including "first rate" champagne. The healths of the King, the Queen, the Comte de Paris, and the other members of the royal family were drunk by the visitors, and thus ended this, to them, most memorable occasion.

Some days later the exhibition at the *Salle Valentino* was opened to the public, and was a success from the start. May first was the King's *fête* day, and, wrote Mr. Catlin, "this was, of course, a holiday for the Indians as well as for everybody else, and I resolved to spend the greater part of it with them." Respecting this occasion Mr. Catlin wrote as follows:

"Through the aid of some friends I had procured an order to admit the party of Indians into the apartments of

*Some days later these medals were delivered to the Indians. Each medal was suspended from a tri-colored silk ribbon, and bore on its reverse side the inscription: "*Donné à* [the name of the particular Indian], *par le Roi; 1845.*" (Given to———, by the King; 1845.)

the Duke d'Aumale in the Tuileries, to witness the grand concert in front of the palace, and to see the magnificent fireworks and illuminations on the Seine at night. * * * At six o'clock we took our carriages and drove to the Tuileries, and, being conducted to the splendid apartments of the Duke d'Aumale, who was then absent from Paris, we had there, from the windows looking down upon the Seine and over the Quarter St. Germain, and the windows in front, looking over the garden of the Tuileries and the Place de la Concorde, the most general and comprehensive view that was to be had from any point that could have been selected."

The exhibitions at the *Salle Valentino* were so successful that *matinée* as well as evening performances were given, which were attended by some of the most fashionable society people as well as by noted literary and scientific personages. Mr. Catlin notes that he met at the *Salle*, on several occasions, Baron von Humboldt, Victor Hugo and Mme. George Sand. As opportunity offered, the Indians were taken by Mr. Catlin's assistants on sight-seeing trips about Paris—to the Louvre, the *Jardin des Plantes*, the *Halle aux Vins*, *Père la Chaise*, the Catacombs, Franconi's Hippodrome, the *Hôtel de Ville* and the *Hôtel des Invalides*.

In the midst of all these activities, in the latter part of June, 1845, the wife of the chief "Little Wolf" suddenly and unexpectedly died. Her remains were taken to the splendid and celebrated Church of the Madeleine, where, in the presence of several hundred persons, funeral rites were performed; after which interment took place in Montmartre Cemetery. Within a short time thereafter the surviving Indians (now twelve in number) determined to return to the United States, and, accompanied by Mr. Melody and their interpreter, they sailed from Havre early in July. On the 28th of the same month the wife of Mr. Catlin died, after a brief illness, at their home in the Avenue Lord Byron, Paris. In reference to that event and subsequent happenings Mr. Catlin wrote:

"In the midst of my grief, with my little family around

me, with my collection still open and my lease for the *Salle Valentino* not yet expired, there suddenly arrived from London a party of eleven Ojibbeway Indians from the region of Lake Huron, in Upper Canada, who had been brought to England by a Canadian, but had since been under the management of a young man from the city of London. They had heard of the great success of the Iowas in Paris, and also of their sudden departure, and were easily prevailed upon to make a visit there.

"On their arrival I entered into the same arrangement with them that I had had with the two former parties, agreeing with the young man who had charge of them to receive them into my collection, sharing the expenses and receipts as I had done before; he being obligated to pay the Indians a certain sum per month, and bound to return them to London—whence they came—at his own expense. * * *

"The chief of this party was a remarkably fine man, both in his personal appearance and intellectual faculties. He was a half-caste, and, speaking the English language tolerably well, acted as chief and interpreter of the party. * * * It happened quite curiously that, although the party consisted of eleven when they arrived, about the time of the commencement of their exhibitions the wife of the chief was delivered of a pappoose, which was born in the same room where the poor wife of 'Little Wolf' had died. This occurrence enabled us to announce the party as [consisting of] twelve, the same number as the Iowas."

One of Mr. Catlin's excellent friends in Paris was M. Gudin, a celebrated marine painter of that day, and concerning him the former wrote:

"It was through the friendly agency of M. Gudin that the King invited my collection to the Louvre, and myself, in company with him, to the royal breakfast-table at the palace at St. Cloud. On this occasion we were conducted through several rooms of the palace to the one in which the royal family, chiefly all assembled, with their numerous guests, were standing and ready to be seated around a circular table fifteen or eighteen feet in diameter, at which (our seats being indicated to us, and the bow of recognition—so far as we were able to recognize acquaintances—having been made) all were seated.

"This extraordinary occasion of my life was rendered peculiarly memorable and gratifying to me from the fact that *there were two Kings and two Queens at the table*, and

nearly every member of the royal family. The King and Queen of the Belgians, who were at that time on a visit to Paris, with His Royal Highness, the little Duke de Brabant, were the unusual royal guests at the table on this occasion.

"The number of persons at the table, consisting of the two royal families, the King's aide-de-camp, and orderly officers of the palace, with the invited guests, amounted to about thirty in all; and, as Kings and Queens and royal families eat exactly like other people, I see nothing further that need be noticed until Their Majesties arose and retired to the salon, or drawing-room, into which we all followed.

"I was there met, as I entered, in the most gracious and cordial manner by His Majesty, who presented me to the King of the Belgians,* who did me the honor to address me in these words: 'I am very happy, Mr. Catlin, to meet a gentleman whose name is familiar to us all, and who has done so much for science and also for the poor Indians. You know that the Queen and myself and the Duke of Brabant were all subscribers to your valuable work, and we have taken great interest in reading it.'

"The two heirs-apparent, the little Count de Paris and his Royal Highness the Duke of Brabant, came to me, and, recognizing me, inquired about the Indians. The conversation with Her Majesty and also with the Princess Adelaide [the King's sister] and the Duchess of Orléans [the King's widowed daughter-in-law] was about the Indians. The little Duke of Brabant recollected the small pipe and the moccasins I had presented him when he visited my collection in Egyptian Hall, London.

"Our ears were then all turned to the recitals of His Majesty, around whom we had gathered, whilst he was relating several incidents of his early life in America in company with his two brothers, which it seemed my advent with the Indians had brought up with unusual freshness in his mind. He commented, in the most eloquent terms, upon the greatness and goodness of General Washington, and

*This was Leopold I, who, in June, 1831, had been elected by a National Congress King of the brand-new kingdom of Belgium. The next year he was married (2d) to the Princess Louise, eldest daughter of King Louis Philippe. Leopold I died in December, 1865, and was succeeded by his eldest son, the Duke of Brabant, who assumed the title of Leopold II. He reigned until his death in December, 1909, when he was succeeded by the eldest son of his younger brother, who assumed the title of Albert I. He has been referred to hereinbefore.

told us that he and his brothers were lucky enough to have been present and heard his Farewell Address in Philadelphia, which he had been in the habit of reflecting upon as one of the most pleasurable and satisfactory incidents of his life.

"His Majesty described to me the route which he and his brothers took from Buffalo to the Falls of Niagara, and thence on horseback to Geneva, a small town at the foot of Seneca Lake, where they sold their horses and, having purchased a small boat, rowed ninety miles to Ithaca, at the head of the Lake. From thence they traveled on foot, with their luggage carried on their backs, thirty miles to Tioga, on the banks of the Susquehanna, where they purchased a canoe from the Indians and in it descended that romantic and beautiful river '*to a small town called Wilkes-Barré, in the valley of Wyoming.*' From thence, with their knapsacks on their backs, they crossed the Wilkes-Barré and Pokono Mountains to Easton, and from thence were conveyed in a coach to Philadelphia.

"I here surprised His Majesty a little, and his listeners, and seemed to add a fresh interest to his narrative, *by informing him that I was a native of Wilkes-Barré*, and that while His Majesty was there I was an infant in my mother's arms.

"He related a number of pleasing recollections of his visit to my native valley. * * * After an hour or so spent in amusing us with the pleasing reminiscences of his wild life in America, he expressed a wish to see my collection, and requested me to place it in a large hall in the Louvre for the private view of the royal family, and also appointed a day and an hour when he would be glad to see the Ojibbeway Indians at St. Cloud, and desired me to accompany them. From the palace my friend M. Gudin, at the request of the King, proceeded with me to Paris and to the Louvre, with His Majesty's command to M. de Caillaux, Director of the Louvre, to prepare the *Salle de Séance* for the reception of my collection."

Some days later Mr. Catlin, accompanied by M. Gudin, conducted the Indians to St. Cloud. Upon their arrival there they were escorted to an open field bordering a small lake in the royal park, where the King and Queen and their guests soon gathered. The Indians entertained the as-

semblage with various native dances, ball games, marksmanship with bows and arrows, and maneuvers with a birch bark canoe on the lake. Following this entertainment the Indians were regaled with refreshments at the palace, and then they returned to Paris.

Writing of the events of this day Mr. Catlin said:

"Every member of the two royal families happened to be present, I was told, on this occasion—a very unusual occurrence—and all had descended from their carriages and grouped themselves on a beautiful lawn to witness the wild sports of the sons of the forest. I was called upon at that moment to explain the meaning of the war-dance, war-song, war-whoop, &c., for doing which I received the thanks of all the party, which gave me peculiar satisfaction. I had much conversation on this occasion with H. R. H. the Prince de Joinville [the third son of Louis Philippe] relative to the Indian modes, and his travels in America, when he recollected to have seen me and my collection in Washington City [in 1839]."

Two or three days after the St. Cloud visit a messenger arrived at the *Salle Valentino* conveying from the King gold medals for the two chiefs and silver medals for the other Indians of the party, together with 500 francs in cash. The money was divided equally among them all.

About this time, the lease of the *Salle Valentino* expiring, Mr. Catlin made preparations to remove his exhibits to the *Salle de Séance* in the Louvre, in conformity with the desires of the King, as previously mentioned. Relative to the installation of the exhibits in the Louvre Maj. Ben: Perley Poore* gave me the following account at Washington in 1886:

*BEN: PERLEY POORE (1820-1887), a native of Newburyport, Massachusetts, was in Europe from 1841 till 1848, when he returned to the United States and, until 1854, was editor of a Boston newspaper. He then became, and continued until his death, a Washington correspondent under the *nom de plume* "Perley." In this work he achieved a national reputation as a very graceful, interesting and well-informed writer. During a part of the American Civil War he served in the Union army with the rank of Major. He published numerous books, among which (written at Paris in 1846, and published at Boston in 1848, by Ticknor) was: "The Rise and Fall of Louis Philippe."

"In 1845 I was in Europe as an *attaché* of the American Legation at Brussels, and also as agent for the State of Massachusetts in collecting documents relating to American history. I saw King Louis Philippe frequently, and chatted with him. One day in the Autumn of 1845 I was passing through the courtyard of the Louvre, about noontime, when some one called to me from a second-story window. It was George Catlin, who was very well known to me. He asked me to come into the palace, to the *Salle de Séance*, where he was in trouble.

"I hurried up stairs and found him, in the midst of about twenty chattering French servants, the embodiment of great distress. 'Poore', he said, 'for Heaven's sake speak to these people and tell them that I want them to hang these pictures—the collection of 500 or 600 paintings, then piled up on the floor—and assist me to put up the Crow lodge at once, as it is now twelve o'clock, and I expect the King at half past two. I can't speak any French, and they no English.' I at once addressed the servants in French. They explained to me that they had not understood what Mr. Catlin meant or wanted, but now they would go to work with a will. So, in a couple of hours, the pictures were hung, and the Crow lodge of tanned Buffalo hide was erected. The King came about half past two, and Mr. Catlin insisted that I should remain.

"The King was cordial and very chatty. He was a large man, resembling a well-to-do English farmer. His English was almost perfect, and his memory prodigious. With him were his personal *attachés* and Baron Athalin, the morganatic husband of his sister Adelaide.

"He remained several hours, M. Vattermare and myself explaining the pictures. The King sat down and we formed a group about him, while he related scores of incidents and anecdotes of his tour in America from October, 1796, to February, 1798, along with his brothers the Duc de Montpensier and the Comte de Beaujolais. His description of General Washington, and his farewell address at the inauguration of President John Adams, at which they were present, in the building at the southeast corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets, Philadelphia, adjoining Independence Hall, was most interesting."

Concerning this and a subsequent visit of the King to the *Salle de Séance*, Mr. Catlin wrote as follows:

"The King entered at the hour appointed, with four or five of his orderly officers about him, and, on casting his eyes around the room, his first exclamation was that of surprise at its unexpected extent and its picturesque effect. My friend M. Vattermare, and also another friend, Major Poore, from the United States, were by my side and were greatly amused and pleased with the remarks made by the King during the interview relative to my paintings and also to incidents of his life amongst the Indians of America during his exile.

"His Majesty soon recognized the picture of an Indian ball-play, and several other scenes he had witnessed on the American frontier, and repeatedly remarked that my paintings all had the strong impress of nature in them, and were executed with much spirit and effect. He seemed pleased and amused with the various Indian manufactures, and particularly with the beautiful Crow wigwam from the Rocky Mountains, standing in the middle of the room.

"After his visit of half an hour he retired, appointing another interview and telling me that the Queen must see the collection with him; also, he commanded the Director of the Louvre to admit my little children to his presence, he having heard of their misfortune of losing their mother, for which he felt much sympathy. At the time appointed, a few days afterward, I met His Majesty again in the *Salle de Séance* with a number of his illustrious friends; and, after had taken them around the room awhile to describe familiar scenes which he had met there on his former visit, I continued to explain other paintings and Indian manufactures in the collection.

"In the midst of the tour around the hall His Majesty met something that again reminded him of scenes he had witnessed in his rambling life in the backwoods of America, and he held us still for half an hour during his recitals of them. He described the mode in which he and his two brothers descended the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers in an old Mackinaw boat which they purchased at Marietta, and in which they made their way amongst snags and sand-bars to the mouth of the Ohio, 600 miles, and from that down the still more wild and dangerous current of the Mississippi, 1,000 miles, to New Orleans, when nearly the whole shores of these rivers, with their heavy forests, were in their native state and were inhabited only by Indians and wild beasts.

They [the Princes] lived upon the game and fish they could kill or purchase from the various tribes of Indians they visited along the banks. They slept sometimes in their leaking and rickety boat, or amongst the canebrake, mosquitoes, alligators and rattlesnakes on shore.

"While we were thus listening to the narrations of His Majesty, my kind and faithful nurse was approaching from the other end of the room, leading up my little children, who were immediately recognized by the King as my little family. In the most kind and condescending manner he took them by their hands and chatted with them in language and sentences suited to their ages.

"His next object was to designate the paintings he wished me to copy and somewhat enlarge, and soon pointed out the number of fifteen, which I was commanded to paint for the palace at Versailles."

Towards the close of the year 1845—probably in November—Mr. Catlin took his Indians to Brussels for exhibition purposes, leaving his collections in the Louvre in a well-founded belief that, through the influence of the King, they would be purchased by the French Government to form a permanent National North American Indian Museum.

The Indians were received with much interest in Brussels. They visited, shortly after their arrival, the royal palace, where they were entertained and presented with medals by King Leopold. Very soon thereafter small-pox broke out among the Indians, and two of them died. Mr. Catlin then sent the survivors to London early in January, 1846 (when and where a third Indian—the war-chief—died), while he himself returned to Paris, having lost by his Brussels venture about \$1,700.

Removing his collections from the Louvre and storing them in a warehouse, Mr. Catlin—with his four children about him, three daughters of ten, eight and six years of age, respectively, and a son (George)* three and a-half years of age—began to paint the fifteen pictures ordered by King

*He died shortly afterwards.

Louis Philippe. Relative to these paintings Mr. Catlin wrote :

"When I had completed the pictures ordered by the King, His Majesty graciously granted me an audience in the palace of the Tuileries to deliver them, on which occasion he met me with great cheerfulness, and having received from me a verbal description of each picture, he complimented me on the spirit of their execution, and expressed the highest satisfaction with them, and desired me to attach to the back of each a full written description. The dimensions of these paintings were 30x36 inches, and the subjects as follows: An Indian ball-play; Sioux Council of War; Buffalo-hunt on snow-shoes; 'Four Bears,' a Mandan Chief; a Sioux Buffalo-hunt; Eagle Dance, and view of an Iowa village; 'Old Bear,' a Medicine-man of the Mandans; a Sioux chief; 'Black Rock,' a Sioux chief; 'White Cloud,' an Iowa chief; 'Little Wolf,' an Iowa warrior; an Iowa boy; an Ojibbeway chief; 'Hail Storm,' an Ojibbeway warrior; 'Thunder Bird,' an Ojibbeway warrior.

"His Majesty had, on several occasions in former interviews, spoken of the great interest of the scenes of the early history of the French Colonies of America, and French explorations and discoveries in those regions, and the subject was now resumed again as one of peculiar interest, affording some of the finest scenes for the pencil of the artist, which he thought I was peculiarly qualified to illustrate."

About that time it is probable the King commissioned Mr. Catlin to paint other pictures for the Versailles palace, judging by the following item which was printed in *The Wilkes-Barré Advocate* of June 23, 1847.

"Our countryman, Mr. George Catlin, has received an order from Louis Philippe to paint twenty-five large paintings for Versailles, from the designs he submitted to him of the travels of La Salle on the Mississippi, the St. Lawrence, and the great lakes of North America."

When I was at Versailles early in 1876 there were no paintings by Catlin in evidence in any of the rooms or galleries of the palace open to sightseers. If any were in existence at that time they may have been hanging or stored in some one of the apartments not open to the general public.

About the time Catlin completed his pictures for the Versailles collection the Ship of State of France was passing from smooth and peaceful into turbulent and tempestuous waters. In 1846 France had enjoyed sixteen years of constitutional government. "It had maintained peace abroad and in good measure at home, and the country had advanced greatly in wealth and prosperity. The King was humane, liberal and well intentioned", and had governed his people with a wisdom, prudence and moderation acknowledged even by his enemies when attacking him.

From the outset of his reign Louis Philippe had three political parties arrayed against him—the Legitimist, the Bonapartist and the Republican, or Radical. The members of the last-named party desired to see a Republic established, and the attitude which they assumed caused the King to halt in his progressive policy. In July, 1835, an attempt was made, by means of an infernal machine, to assassinate the King. He escaped uninjured, but more than forty persons—including several army officers of high rank—were killed by the explosion of the machine.

After this catastrophe, which terrified not only Paris but France, extreme precautions were taken to protect the King against all open manifestations of hatred. Laws were passed which interdicted not only all offensive allusion to the King's person, but all discussion regarding his claims to the throne and the principle of his government. It was forbidden to assume the name of Republican, and to express a desire for the restoration of the elder branch of the Bourbons.

The next year, in October, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, the nephew of Napoleon I, who had been living for some years in Switzerland and was a Captain in the Swiss army, secretly arrived at Strasburg and attempted, by means of a military revolution, to replace on the throne of France the Napoleonic, or Bonapartist, dynasty, of which he was then the head. He met with complete failure, was taken prisoner

and, by order of Louis Philippe, was contemptuously sent out of the country to America, without punishment.

After spending some time in the United States Louis Napoleon returned to Europe, took up his residence in England, and, in 1840, attempted a second *coup d'état*. Accompanied by a number of his friends and adherents he landed near Boulogne, in France. Again his plans failed—more abortively than in the first instance—resulting in the arrest of himself and some of his accomplices. They were tried in October, 1840, and Louis Napoleon was condemned to imprisonment for life in the castle of Ham—from which he escaped six years later.

The Bonapartist feeling, notwithstanding its intensity throughout France, could not make itself felt as an effective factor, even though Louis Napoleon declared to the people: "The great spirit of Napoleon speaks to you through me!" and promised "glory, honor and wealth" to the soldiers of France, and "order, liberty and reduction of taxes" to the people at large. Although "Napoleon the Pretender" was shut up in the castle of Ham, he was not harmless, and plottings against the King and the Government went on.

In the midst of these plottings, in July, 1842, an unfortunate event cast a gloom over the whole country, without distinction of party. Ferdinand, Duke of Orléans, the eldest child of Louis Philippe, and heir to the throne, was accidentally thrown from his carriage and killed. Amiable, conscientious and accomplished, the young Duke (he was thirty-two years of age at the time of his death) was a favorite with both the high and the low. Possessing all the qualities of mind and person calculated to endear him to the people, all felt that the nation had lost in him one who would have made an excellent ruler. His death was naturally regarded as a national calamity.

In this son all the father's hopes of the continuance of his monarchy had been centered; but with the death of the Duke the right of succession to the throne passed to Ferdi-

nand's elder son, Louis Philippe Albert d'Orléans, Comte de Paris (who has been referred to hereinbefore), then not quite four years of age. To train this youth to take the place for which his father had been destined, became the object nearest Louis Philippe's heart.

In 1845 and 1846 the crops failed in France, and the prices of food rose to a famine point. Following closely on this situation some of the leading statesmen of the nation began to realize that the parliamentary government of the Charter had become a mockery, and that power had got more firmly consolidated in royal hands than in the time of the legitimate Kings. Therefore, suddenly there arose from nearly all quarters of France a cry for electoral and parliamentary reform; and there was also heard the uniformly recurring demand—premonitory of all serious disturbance—for a diminution of the taxes.

These cries were founded on justice, and were urged in a constitutional manner. Corruption had entered into all the elections; parliamentary purity had become a byword, and the expenses of the country far exceeded its income, owing to the extravagant building of forts and palaces. Regarding the cries and demands of the people Louis Philippe declared to those about him: "There will be no reform! I do not wish it! If the Deputies vote it, the Peers will veto it; and even if the Peers should favor it, my veto still remains. Reassure yourselves. France is a country which is governed by functionaries."*

Early in the Winter of 1847 there was a famine, resulting in riots in all directions, while bands of idle and hungry men tramped to and fro through the country. At that

*The population of France was then 34,000,000, and the privilege of the political franchise was vested exclusively in those who paid in direct taxes a sum not less than about \$40. This class numbered a little more than 200,000. The Government had 130,000 places at its disposal, and the use which was made of these during the eighteen years of Louis Philipp's reign was productive of corruption more widespread and shameless than France had known since the First Revolution."—R. Mackenzie, in *"The Nineteenth Century"*.

time Louis Philippe's chief Minister was Guizot, whose talents and character had theretofore commanded very general respect. Little by little, however, public opinion began to turn against him. Then a universal outcry arose, and the demand for progress and democracy seemed to be concentrated on one point—electoral reform. Guizot opposed an obstinate refusal to this demand. He refused to give the vote even to jurymen and academicians, and declared: "The day of universal suffrage will never come!"

Under the guidance of strong leaders in the Liberal, Moderate and Radical parties—Blanc, Thiers, Lamartine, and others—the agitation for reform assumed dimensions exceedingly embarrassing and even alarming. For once, France borrowed from England her method of political agitation. Reform banquets, attended by thousands of persons, were held in all the chief towns, and the pressure of a peaceful public opinion was employed to obtain the remedy for a great wrong.

The first of these banquets took place in Paris in July, 1847, and during the ensuing six months banquets were held in most of the Departments of France—in the cities of Colmar, Strasburg, St. Quentin, Lille, Chalons, Dijon, Macon, Lyons, Rouen, etc. At some of the banquets there was a great display of feelings and intentions most hostile to royalty and the Bourbon dynasty. At others, the ideas and passions of the Reign of Terror of 1793 unblushingly reappeared; the character and deeds of Robespierre were defended, and the "Red Republic" openly flaunted its colors and hopes.

Just about that time (January, 1848) Louis Philippe had fallen into very low spirits, and was greatly dejected on account of his grief at the death of his only sister, Madame Adelaide, whose life had been quite intimately associated with his, and who had always exercised great ascendancy over him.

About the middle of February, 1848, for the purpose of

forwarding electoral reform, arrangements were made in Paris for the holding of a banquet on a vast scale, to be preceded by a great procession through the streets, led by National Guards, unarmed. February 22 was fixed upon as the time, and a large piece of ground enclosed by walls, near the Champs Elysées, was selected as the place, for the banquet.

The police, however, interdicted the demonstration, and its promoters resolved to submit; but a vast crowd of the general public—comprising Orléanists, Legitimists, Liberals and Republicans—insufficiently informed as to the situation of affairs, gathered in the Place de la Madeleine in the early morning of February 22 for the procession to the Champs Elysées. All that day the streets were thronged, and the excitement of the people increased from hour to hour. But few soldiers were seen, and consequently no conflict occurred.

Among the troops first called out to defend the Government were the Municipal Guards, then very unpopular with the masses. The Government mistrusted the National Guards, and was afraid at first to call them out. The King slept through the night of the 22d confident that nothing serious would happen, but during the night the troops bivouacked in the silence of Paris, beneath a rainy sky, and cannon were made ready for instant use.

The next morning the troops who had spent the night in the rain and mud were weary and discontented. Barricades had been hastily raised in many quarters of the city. Business was suspended, and the constantly rising agitation foretold irrepressible tumults. Worst of all, the National Guards appeared to sympathize with the people. One regiment refused to cry "God save the King!" while a large number of the Guards cried out: "Long live reform! Down with Guizot!"

Guizot hastened to the Tuileries, where the King laid bare the situation; dwelt upon its gravity; talked a great deal

about his desire to keep the Ministry intact, and of the regret he experienced at being obliged to dismiss them, and added that he would prefer to abdicate. "You cannot say that, *mon ami*," said the Queen. "You owe a duty to France; you do not belong to yourself!" "That is true," replied the King. "I am much more unhappy than my Ministers, for I cannot tender my resignation."

The upshot of the matter was that Guizot resigned forthwith, and this meant the abandonment of the policy of repression; but the Government could not make up its mind to grant any concessions. Before the day closed, however, a disaster occurred which made all concessions vain. Near the Madeleine there was stationed a battalion of infantry, around which there surged an excited multitude. A shot was fired from somewhere, by which a soldier was wounded. Promptly the troops fired, and a storm of bullets riddled the crowds on the boulevard, killing or wounding fifty persons.

At first there was a cry of terror, and then a shout of furious rage, as here and there men fell dead and the street was sprinkled with blood. The corpses were placed on a cart and drawn along the streets, that the fury of the people might be excited to the highest pitch. Men walking beside the cart carried torches, which illumined the ghastly cargo, while a man on the cart lifted up and showed to the people the dead body of a woman, whose face was horribly mutilated by bullets.

This frightful spectacle aroused a frenzy of rage throughout the city, and Paris was again plunged into civil war. The real battle, however, was that of the next day—February 24. In the early morning of that day the General commanding the troops in Paris proceeded to review and inspect them. He found them greatly demoralized, having for sixty hours remained almost motionless in the face of the mob, with their feet in the mud and their knapsacks on their backs, allowing the rioters to attack the Municipal

Guards, burn the sentry-boxes, cut down trees, break street lamps and harangue the soldiers.

By this time Paris was overspread with barricades, and fighting continued during all the morning of the 24th, but was brought to an end before two o'clock in the afternoon by the most bloody occurrence of the day—the attack on the Chateau d'Eau, opposite the Palais Royal. The people on one side and the Municipal Guards on the other showed, at this point, indescribable energy, and fought with the courage of desperation. The soldiers retired, and the rioters pressed on towards the Tuileries, not far distant.

The palace was thronged with a confused crowd, animated by various feelings and agitated by evident fears or secret hopes. Some urged the King to abdicate in favor of the Comte de Paris; others vigorously opposed such a relinquishment of power in the face of the insurrection. The King sat at his writing-table, agitated and perplexed. He had begun to write his abdication, when the General commanding the troops at Paris entered the palace and, hastening into the presence of the King, declared: "It is too late, Sire; your abdication would complete the demoralization of the troops. Your Majesty can hear the firing going on in the streets. There is nothing left to do but to fight."

The Queen seconded this advice, and several others in the room were of the same opinion. The King arose without finishing his writing, and then other voices were raised to insist upon the King's promise. "I have always written slowly," he declared, "and this is not the moment for me to change my habit." He then sat down again, and completed and signed his abdication in favor of his nine-and-a-half-year-old grandson, the Comte de Paris.

The Duchess of Orléans presented herself at the entrance to the Palais Bourbon as soon as the abdication of the King had become known. She was accompanied by her brother-in-law, the Duke de Nemours (Louis Philippe's second

son), leading the Comte de Paris by the hand, while the Duke de Chartres (the younger son of the Duchess), who was ill and weak, was carried in the arms of Ary Scheffer, the celebrated painter.

The crowd which surged about the palace, and thronged its halls and corridors, showed sympathy for the Duchess and made room for her and her small retinue to pass. After considerable difficulty they were able to enter the Chamber of the Deputies, where the Duchess took her stand near the tribune, holding her two sons close to her. Just about that time the document embodying the King's abdication was read to the Deputies, and a motion was made to proclaim at once the young Comte de Paris as King, under "the regency of Mme. la Duchesse d'Orléans." Shouts of protest from various quarters were heard, some of the Deputies demanding a provisional Government, while others cried out the word "Republic."

During this confusion the Duchess and her sons were conducted to a gallery of the Chamber, and shortly afterwards shots were heard in the courtyard of the palace, where the National Guards (on duty there) were giving way before the triumphant mob. The latter, stained with blood and blackened with gunpowder, with dishevelled hair and bare arms, poured into the Chamber, climbed upon the benches and stairs and into the galleries, shouting "Down with the Regency! Long live the Republic!" Several of the Deputies rushed to the succor of the Duchess and her sons and conducted them in safety to the Invalides. Thence, after nightfall, they withdrew to Bligny, and within a few days crossed the frontier into Belgium, passed through that country and repaired to Eisenach, in Saxe Weimar, where they remained until the Summer of 1849.

Returning now to the Tuileries we find that, the act of abdication having been signed, Louis Philippe and Queen Marie Amélie made hurried preparations to leave the palace. There was some difficulty in finding conveyances to take

them even as far as St. Cloud, but finally, in the early evening of that eventful day, two coupés and a cabriolet from the royal stables left the Tuileries for St. Cloud, carrying the *ci-devant* King and Queen, together with two or three members of their family.

The crowd surrounding the Tuileries allowed them to pass without molestation, following which they invaded the palace, where they wrote "Death to robbers!" and then proceeded to sack, from top to bottom, not only the Tuileries but the Palais Royal. The splendid and artistic furnishings of these historic palaces were either burned or thrown out of the windows, while the cellars were emptied of all the wines which they contained.

The presence of the National Guards and troops of the line, who were still under arms, prevented further excesses of this character in Paris; "but that only caused the storm to burst with the more fury on the comparatively unprotected buildings in the country around it. Over a circle formed by a radius of thirty leagues around Paris all the railway stations were sacked and burned; the bridges were in great part broken down or set on fire; even the rails in many places were torn up and scattered about. The beautiful chateau of Neuilly, near Paris, the favorite abode of the late King, was plundered and half burned. Versailles was threatened with a similar fate, which was only averted by the firm attitude of the National Guards, who turned out for the protection of that palace, no longer of Kings, but of the fine arts."

In the course of a week the fugitive King and his Queen arrived at a little port in Normandy which was their destination; but the sea was stormy, and they could not hire a vessel to take them across the Channel. At length, disguising themselves and assuming "the lowly but well-chosen incognitos of Mr. and Mrs. Smith," they proceeded to Havre, where they were able to secure a passage for Newhaven, England, on board a British ship.

Just here it will be interesting to read a prediction proclaimed by a French juggler of figures to his fellow-countrymen a few years after Louis Philippe was crowned King. He declared: "In 1848 you will see France divided, the Monarchy erased, Religion turned upside down, and Rebellion dominant in the four corners of the country." This conclusion was arrived at by adding to the year (1830) in which Louis Philippe ascended the throne the figures constituting the years in which he and his wife were respectively born, and the year of their marriage, thus:

Ascended the throne, 1830 Ascended the throne, 1830

He was born in 1773	{	1	His wife was born in 1782	{	1
		7			7
		7			8
		3			2
		<hr/>			<hr/>
		1848			1848

Ascended the throne, 1830

They were married in 1809	{	1
		8
		0
		9
		<hr/>
		1848

Upon arriving in England the royal exiles took up their residence at Claremont,* a country estate situated at Esher,

*Built by a noble family of that name. When the Princess Charlotte, heiress-apparent to the crown of England, was married to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg (mentioned hereinbefore), Claremont was assigned as their residence. At the death of the Princess in 1817 the use of the estate was continued to the Prince for life. Here he lived until his election as King of Belgium, after which time he only visited it occasionally. Upon the fall of the monarchy in France King Leopold placed Claremont at the disposal of his father-in-law, Louis Philippe. Upon the death of King Leopold in 1865 an Act was passed granting the estate to Queen Victoria for her life, after which it was to revert to the nation. In 1882 the Queen bought the reversion of Claremont, and it became the place of residence of her son, the Duke of Edinburgh.

in the county of Surrey, not far from London. Here, within a short time, they were joined by their sons, and a few months later by their daughter-in-law, the Duchess of Orléans, accompanied by her two young sons. Here Louis Philippe died August 26, 1850, and around this place the family clustered until the death of Queen Marie Amélie in 1866.

"One of the most pleasant pictures of home life imaginable, was that at Claremont during the last years of Queen Amélie," declared a well-informed writer of that period. "The Queen's children gathered around her, and, wanderers as they were, always returned to her side. Having lost the country they loved so well, they seemed to find their compensation in the tender care and affection they lavished on this gentle lady, who, while preserving her royal dignity, never allowed those around her to forget that she was at the same time a loving and most lovable woman."

In concluding this monograph it will not be inappropriate to append to it, nor uninteresting to read, some of the recorded opinions of certain of the contemporaries of Louis Philippe concerning him.

Alison, in his "History of Europe", says:

"Louis Philippe, who, by the force of circumstances and the influence of dissimulation and fraud, obtained possession of the throne of France, is, of all recent sovereigns, the one concerning whose character the most difference of opinion has prevailed. By some, who were impressed with the length and general success of his reign, he was regarded as a man of the greatest capacity; and the 'Napoleon of Peace' was triumphantly referred to as having achieved that which the 'Napoleon of War' had sought in vain to effect.

"The prudent and cautious statesman who, during a considerable portion of his reign, guided the affairs of England, had, it is well known, the highest opinion of his wisdom and judgment. By others, and especially the Royalists, whom he had dispossessed, and the Republicans, whom he had disappointed, he was regarded as a mere successful tyrant, who won a crown by perfidy and maintained it by corruption, and in whom it was hard to say whether profound

powers of dissimulation or innate selfishness of disposition were most conspicuous. And in the close of all, his conduct belied the assertions and disappointed the expectations of both; for, when he fell from the throne, he neither exhibited the vigor which was anticipated by his admirers, nor the selfishness which was imputed to him by his enemies.

"In truth, however, he was consistent throughout; and when his character comes to be surveyed in the historic mirror, the same features are everywhere conspicuous. His elevation, his duration and his fall are seen to have been all brought about by the same qualities. He rose to greatness and was long maintained in it because he was the man of the age; but that age was neither an age of heroism nor of virtue, but of selfishness.

"The vicissitudes of his life had exceeded everything that romance had figured or imagination could have conceived. The gallery of portraits in the sumptuous halls of the Palais Royal exhibited him with truth successively a young prince basking in the sunshine of rank and opulence at Paris; a soldier combating under the tricolor flag at Valmy; a school-master instructing his humble scholars in Switzerland; a fugitive in misery in America; a sovereign on the throne of France."

Henri Martin, in his "History of France," says relative to Louis Philippe: "France has not cherished a hostile feeling toward his memory; if he erred in his policy, he made bitter expiation."

The character of Louis Philippe was admirably traced by the late Queen Victoria of England in a memorandum which she made in 1855, and which is printed in a published volume of her "Letters" (III: 122). She compared him with Napoleon III, who then had been Emperor of the French for about two and a-half years, and spoke of his "vast knowledge upon all and every subject," and his "great activity of mind." She declared that he was, unlike Napoleon, "thoroughly French in character, possessing all the liveliness and talkativeness of that people;" but she also spoke of the "tricks and over-reachings" practiced by him, "who in great as well as in small things took a pleasure in

being cleverer and more cunning than others, often when there was no advantage to be gained by it."

No ruler of France ever equalled Louis Philippe in versatility of manner, or, to speak more accurately, perhaps, in unaffected naturalness, owing, no doubt, to his miscellaneous experience of life in almost every stratum of humanity. Though his voice was far from melodious, he spoke in a pleasing tone, without the slightest suggestion of the condescension peculiar to the elder Bourbons; and this, with the kindly twinkle of the eye and the generous fullness of the well curved lips, constituted an expression of *bonhomie* decidedly awe-dispelling and even attractive.

"Departing from the old traditions of the divinity which 'doth hedge a king', he gained for himself the title of the '*Bourgeois King*' by his accessibility and the simplicity of his family life. A devoted husband and father, he brought to bear upon the education of his children all the efforts of his good sense, and the results of the experience gained in his checkered career as a prince whose early life was passed amid the excitement of war and the most violent of revolutions, then in exile, and at last upon a throne.

"He inspired his children with the highest sentiments of patriotism; gave them an eminently practical education; afforded them early in life the opportunity of gaining experience of affairs and of sharing the toils and dangers of war with their fellow-countrymen. The result was that such a man as Sir Robert Peel could truly speak of Louis Philippe as a Frenchman all of whose sons were brave and all his daughters virtuous.

"Those who knew the King in his home life saw the best side of his character. No matter how the storm raged without, the domestic horizon was always unclouded. Simple in his tastes, he combined order and economy with a magnificence befitting his position. As a protector of the fine arts and a patron of letters, his splendid palace in Paris, and his charming country-seat at Neuilly, were filled with

the works of the former and frequented by the most distinguished scholars of the age. The finest artists, too, from the Conservatory were often present at the Tuileries, the King taking much pleasure in their interpretation of the music of the great masters, which, he said, recalled to him the days of his youth. His wife was a never-failing source of comfort and support to him in the trials growing out of his situation. When the Hon. William Wilkins, of Pittsburgh, Pa., United States Minister to Russia, dined at the Tuileries, he was struck with the look of anxiety upon the face of the Queen, who declared to him that no day passed in which she did not tremble for her husband's life."

The sons of Louis Philippe and Marie Amélie were, in the order of age, as follows; (i) Ferdinand, Duc d'Orléans; (ii) Louis, Duc de Nemours; (iii) François, Prince de Joinville; (iv) Henri, Duc d'Aumale; (v) Antoine, Duc de Montpensier. Their daughters were: (i) Princess Louise, married (as his second wife) to King Leopold of Belgium; (ii) Princess Marie, married to Prince Alexander of Würtemberg; (iii) Princess Clémentine, married to Prince August of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha.

(i) *Ferdinand, Duc d'Orléans*, was born at Palermo, on the island of Sicily, in 1810. Under the restoration he bore the title of Duc de Chartres, but when the revolution broke out in France in 1830, and his father was enthroned as King, he assumed the title of Duc d'Orléans, being at the time Colonel of a regiment of hussars. In 1832 he took part in the siege of Antwerp. References to his marriage and death have been made hereinbefore. His widow, the Duchess d'Orléans, lived until her death in May, 1858, at Claremont with her two sons, Louis Philippe Albert, Comte de Paris (born August 24, 1838), and Robert, Duc de Chartres (born November 9, 1840), of whom further mention is made hereinafter.

(ii) *Louis, Duc de Nemours*, was born in Paris in October, 1814. In his youth he had the reputation of being

inordinately proud. With his brother he was at the siege of Antwerp, and in 1834 was promoted Marshal. In 1836-'37 he served in Algeria, and was a great favorite with the soldiers in his command. He became a Lieutenant General in 1837, and in 1840 was married to a princess of Saxe-Coburg—a cousin of Prince Albert and Queen Victoria of England.

On the day of his father's abdication he took command of the troops in the courts of the Tuileries (all of whom were faithful to the King), and he remained exposed to danger from the mob until the safe departure of all the members of the royal family was assured. By that time he was in serious peril himself, and it was only by remaining in hiding for several days that he was able to get out of France alive—joining the other members of his family at Claremont. After the fall of Napoleon III he was permitted to return to France and take his former rank in the army. In 1875 and 1876 I saw him upon more than one occasion. He died at Versailles in June, 1896.

(iii) *François, Prince de Joinville*, was born at Neuilly October 14, 1818. He was educated as a sailor, going to sea at the age of thirteen years. In 1838 he commanded the corvette *Créole* in the attack on Vera Cruz. For his conspicuous services on that occasion he was made a post-captain and Chevalier of the Legion of Honor. The same year he made a brief visit to the United States. As mentioned hereinbefore he was entrusted in 1840 with the mission of proceeding to St. Helena to bring back to France the mortal remains of Napoleon I. The next year (as mentioned on page 218) he again visited the United States. In 1843 he was married to the Princess Francesca, sister of Dom Pedro II, Emperor of Brazil.

When the revolution of 1848 took place de Joinville was a Vice Admiral of France, and was with his brother, the Duc d'Aumale, in Algeria. He immediately tendered his

resignation as an officer of the French navy to the authorities of the new Republic, and took passage for England, where he rejoined his exiled family at Claremont. In September, 1861, he again visited the United States, being accompanied by his son (Pierre Philippe, Duc de Penthièvre), his nephews the Comte de Paris and the Duc de Chartres (sons of the Duc d'Orléans, whose death occurred in 1842, as previously related), M. Fauseil, Captain Morhain, Dr. Le Clerc, and five servants.

Satisfactory arrangements with the Government having been made, the Prince placed his son as a student in the United States Naval Academy, then at Newport, R. I. The young Duke passed through the school in due time, with much credit, and, entering our navy, attained the rank of Lieutenant before he left it. In the latter part of September, 1861, President Lincoln granted permission to the Comte de Paris (then in the twenty-fourth year of his life) and the Duc de Chartres (then nearly twenty-one years of age) to enter the Union army as aides-de-camp; being permitted to serve without taking the oath of allegiance, and without pay. It was also understood that they should be permitted to leave the service should family or political exigencies require it.

They were borne on the army register as "Louis Philippe d'Orléans and Robert d'Orléans, additional aides-de-camp in the regular army, with the rank of Captain," and were assigned to the staff of Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan, commanding the Army of the Potomac. The Prince de Joinville accepted no rank, but, on the invitation of General McClellan, "simply accompanied headquarters as an amateur and friend." Years later General McClellan, writing concerning the services of the young Princes on his staff, said:

"Their task was accomplished with complete success, for they gained the full confidence, respect and regard of their commander and their comrades. From the moment they entered the service they were called upon to perform pre-

cisely the same duties, and in precisely the same manner, as their companions on the personal staff of their commander. In the dull routine of office work, in the intelligent analysis of reports in regard to the number and position of the enemy, in the labor of organizing the Army of the Potomac, in long and fatiguing rides with their General—whether through the widely-extended camps around Washington, or from column to column in the field—in accompanying advanced guards and cavalry detachments, in carrying orders by day and night in storm and rain, in the performance of their duties on great battle-fields, they were excelled by none in the alacrity, tact, courage and intelligence with which their work was done.

“Far from evincing any desire to avoid irksome, fatiguing or dangerous duty, they always sought it, and were never so happy as when some such work devolved upon them, and they never failed to display the high qualities of a race of soldiers. Their conduct was characterized by an innate love for a soldier's life, by an intense desire to perfect themselves in the profession of arms by actual experience of war on a large scale, and by unswerving devotion to duty. Not only this, their heads and hearts were with us in our hour of trial, and I believe that, next to their own France, they most love this country, for which they so freely and so often exposed their lives on the field of battle.”

The Comte de Paris and the Duc de Chartres, as well as the Prince de Joinville, remained with the headquarters of the Army of the Potomac until the close of the Peninsular Campaign in July, 1862, when they returned to England. When the Franco-Prussian War broke out in 1870 the Prince de Joinville made every possible endeavor to obtain permission from the French Government to serve his country either under his own or an assumed name, but he was foiled in every effort.

After the termination of the war, and the establishment of the French Republic, he was elected to the National Assembly, and later was restored to his grade of Vice Admiral in the navy. Some years before his death (which occurred at Paris June 16, 1900) he wrote and published a

volume of very interesting memoirs ("*Vieux Souvenirs*") with many illustrations from original drawings by himself. The book told the story of the author's life from childhood up to the Revolution of 1848. In 1894 it was translated into English and published in this country.

Soon after the close of the American Civil War the Comte de Paris began the preparation of his "History of the Civil War in America," which was completed in six volumes—the first volume being published in 1874. This history is regarded as a standard work. In 1871 the Comte was allowed to return to France, and was elected to the National Assembly. During my visits to France in 1875 and '76 I saw him upon several occasions.

In 1883, upon the death of the Comte de Chambord, he became the recognized head of the Legitimists as well as the Orléanists. In 1886 he was exiled from France and retired to England, and in 1887 issued a call to the French people to overthrow their Republic and re-establish a monarchy. In October, 1890, accompanied by his elder son, Louis Philippe Robert, Duc d'Orléans (born at Twickenham, England, February 6, 1869), and a suite of distinguished personages of his own private circle, the Comte de Paris visited the United States and Canada, and was received with great consideration in the various cities which he visited. He died at Stowe House, his country place in England, September 8, 1894.

The Princess Marie Amélie (born in 1865), eldest daughter of the Comte de Paris, became the wife of Carlos I, King of Portugal.

(iv) *Henri, Duc d'Aumale*, was born in Paris January 16, 1822. He was educated at the college of Henry IV, and at the age of sixteen years entered the army, where he soon distinguished himself by his bravery, and passed rapidly through the various grades of rank. In 1840 he went to Algeria as aide-de-camp to the hero of his boy-

hood—his brother, the Duc d'Orléans. He was invalided home a year later, but on regaining his strength he returned as a Major General to Africa, where, with a small body of men, he achieved the capture of the "smalah" of the Emir Abd-el-Kader, together with his standards, cattle, 3,600 warriors and an immense treasure, thus virtually terminating the contest with the Emir.* D'Aumale was then promoted to be a Lieutenant General.

His devotion to his duties, his popularity and his splendid efficiency induced the King, his father, to nominate him in 1847, at the age of twenty-five years, to the office of Governor General of Algeria. This post he retained until the downfall of the monarchy in 1848, when he retired to England, where he resided until 1871. After the Franco-Prussian War he returned to France, was soon restored to his grade in the army as a General of Division, and was elected to the National Assembly. In 1871 he was elected one of the forty members of the *Académie Française*. In 1873 he presided over the court-martial which condemned Marshal Bazaine to death. In 1879 he became Inspector General of the army.

By the "Act of Exception" passed in 1883 all members of families that had reigned in France who were then serving in the army were deprived of their military positions. Consequently d'Aumale was placed on half pay in the "unemployed supernumerary list." In July, 1886, another law was promulgated which expelled from French territory the heads of former reigning families, and provided that thenceforth all members of those families should be disqualified for any public position or function, and for election to any public body. D'Aumale entered a vigorous protest against this law, but was himself expelled from the country.

Shortly before that time the Duc had executed his last

*This event is commemorated by an immense painting by Horace Vernet, occupying the whole of one side of one of the largest rooms in the palace at Versailles.

will and testament, wherein he bequeathed to the Institute of France (his wife and children being dead) his magnificent domain of Chantilly—about twenty-five miles from Paris—together with the vast and splendid art collections which he had gathered there—the whole estimated to be worth \$5,000,000. This act of generosity becoming known to the French Government, led it to withdraw the decree of exile against the Duc in March, 1889, and he returned to France.

The Duc d'Aumale was a soldier to the core, and not the least touching of the pages dealing with the history of his life are those which tell how to the last he loved to gather around him the veterans who had fought with him in Algeria half a century before. Only a short time before his death he assembled as many as fifty one day at Chantilly, while at the sale of the property of the Comte de Paris he purchased the Chateau of Amboise, that it might serve as a home for old soldiers of the African campaigns.

His brother officers, his Zouaves, the whole army, in fact, adored him, and not a few agreed with General Fleury that if, instead of bowing to the will of the faction that dethroned his father, he had thrown one-fourth of the eighty thousand men of the Army of Algeria—each one his worshipper—on board the ships of his brother de Joinville, anchored in the harbor, Louis Philippe would have died upon his throne instead of an exile in England."

Both by his career and his personal qualities (he was a skillful horseman, an indefatigable sportsman, a brilliant talker, an artist, and a writer of no little merit) the Duc d'Aumale was perhaps the most conspicuous and the most interesting figure among the sons of Louis Philippe. He was also the richest of the family, having inherited the vast wealth of the Condés. When I was in Paris in 1875 and 1876 he seemed to be very popular with the people generally. Photographs and engravings of him in military uniform

were displayed in print shops, art establishments, and elsewhere. He died at Zucco, Italy, May 7, 1897.

(v) *Antoine, Duc de Montpensier*, youngest of the sons of Louis Philippe, was born at Neuilly in 1824. He resembled his father greatly in manner, gesture and even voice. At the age of eighteen years he entered the army as a Lieutenant of artillery. In 1845 he served under the orders of the Duc d'Aumale, and in 1846 was assigned to the command of the artillery school of practice at Vincennes. He was married to the Princess Marie, sister of Queen Isabella II of Spain, and took up his residence in that country. His elder daughter, the Princess Isabella, became the wife of her cousin, the Comte de Paris, in 1864, while his younger daughter, the Princess Mercedes, was married in 1878 to Alfonse XVII, King of Spain. Montpensier died in 1890.

(iii) *Princess Clémentine*, the youngest and most beautiful of the daughters of Louis Philippe, became the wife of Prince August of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, as previously stated. Their youngest son, Prince Ferdinand Maximilian Charles Leopold Marie (born in February, 1861), was elected by the *Sobranje* (parliament) of Bulgaria, in the Summer of 1887, ruler of the principality of Bulgaria (under the suzerainty of Turkey) under the title of Prince Ferdinand I; but it was not until 1896 that his election was formally recognized and confirmed by the Great Powers.

In the Summer of 1895 a well-informed writer had the following to say about the Princess Clémentine:

"Now that the eyes of the world are turned toward unhappy Bulgaria, a few points in regard to Princess Clémentine, mother of Prince Ferdinand, may be found of interest. She is now a very old lady, several years the senior of Queen Victoria, yet her physical and mental activities are greater than those of all her brothers, the Duc de Nemours, the Duc d'Aumale and the Prince de Joinville. All these children of Louis Philippe are enormously wealthy, and the Princess Clémentine has increased her hereditary treasures by remarkably judicious investments, so that,

though for years she has been comparatively in the background, she is one of the richest of European royalties. She is also remarkably generous.

"The fact that Prince Ferdinand, alone of European sovereigns, has been able to spare his people the cost of a civil list, and to pay out of his own purse the bulk of the running expenses of his luxurious court, is due to his mother's liberality. There was a time when this remarkable Princess had her finger in many a diplomatic pie, and even Bismarck is reported to have sworn at her as a formidable antagonist who upset some of his most cherished plans and choicest calculations. Altogether she may be considered the most remarkable old lady in Europe."

The Princess Clémentine died in 1907, and in October of the following year Bulgaria was proclaimed a Kingdom—its ruler, Ferdinand I—taking the title of Czar.

The revolution of February, 1848, was, of course, hurtful in a business way to George Catlin. He placed his three children (girls) at school, and at a great expense and risk transported his gallery and museum collections to London, where, after some delay, he exhibited them for two years at 6, Waterloo Place, calling the exhibition "Catlin's Indian Collection". Then came to him financial disaster and distress. A victim of speculators, Mr. Catlin suffered the loss of his collections, which were seized for his debts. Finally an American friend of his—Mr. Joseph Harrison, Jr., of Philadelphia—came to his rescue, paid off his indebtedness, packed up his collections and, in 1852-'53, shipped them to Philadelphia.

From 1852 till 1858 Mr. Catlin traveled extensively in South American countries and the extreme western sections of the United States. He then returned to Europe and, in 1860, took up his residence in Brussels, where he remained until 1870 painting his "Indian Cartoons"—600 paintings in oil, "with 20,000 full length figures, illustrating the various Indian games, religious ceremonies, and other customs; together with twenty-seven canvas paintings of La Salle's discoveries." (Relative to the latter, see the paragraph on page 240, *ante*, quoted from the *Wilkes-Barré Advocate*.)

He then came to the United States, where he opened his gallery of paintings ("Catlin's Indian Cartoons") at the Somerville Gallery, 14, Broadway, New York, remaining there until the Autumn of 1871. He then removed the collection to the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, where it was exhibited from 1872 to 1875.

Mr. Catlin was taken ill in October, 1872, at Washington, and was removed thence to Jersey City, New Jersey, where his daughters

and his brother-in-law (the Hon. Dudley S. Gregory) were then living. There he died December 23, 1872, and his remains were interred by the side of those of his wife and son in Greenwood Cemetery, Long Island. Less than a year before his death Mr. Catlin wrote to his old friend Steuben Butler, of Wilkes-Barré, in part as follows:

"My dear Ancient Comrade.—It seems strange to me, after an absence of thirty-five years, to hear the familiar sounds of names that once were so dear to me, and which, amid the strange vicissitudes of my eventful life, I had almost forgotten. The conversation of your friend in his several visits to my exhibition have rekindled old associations of my boyish days, and renewed the resolution which I long since made to visit the far famed and beautiful valley which gave me birth, and my present desire is to do it before long. I want, once more, to tread the soil of my old hunting-grounds—Bear Creek, Ten-Mile Run, the Seven-Mile House (where once, in early manhood days, it was my good luck to kill a panther, which measured eight feet from tip to tip)." * * * *

"Catlin's Indian Cartoons" remained on exhibition until 1875 at the Smithsonian Institution, where they attracted much attention, and efforts were made to have Congress purchase them, but without success. In May, 1879, the heirs of Joseph Harrison, Jr., deceased, presented to the United States Government, for the National Museum, Smithsonian Institution, at Washington, a considerable part of the original "Catlin's Indian Gallery", or "Catlin's Indian Collection", as it was called in 1848 and later. In 1881 many other objects from this collection were presented by the Harrison heirs to the Smithsonian Institution. In 1912 Mr. Ogden Mills of the city of New York presented to the American Museum of Natural History, in New York city, 350 pictures from "Catlin's Indian Cartoons", which he had purchased from Mr. Catlin's surviving daughter.

Among the books written and published by Mr. Catlin, in addition to the elaborate and extended catalogs of his various exhibitions, were the following: (1) "Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North American Indians. Written during eight years' travel among the wildest tribes of Indians in North America." 2 vols., 8vo, published in 1841. Various editions of this work were subsequently published in this country and Europe, the last one having been issued at Philadelphia in 1914. (2) "Catlin's Notes of Eight Years' Travel and Residence in Europe with his North American Indian Collection." 2 vols., 8vo, 1848. Various editions were subsequently published in this country and Europe. (3) "*Okecha*, a Religious Ceremony; and other Customs of the Mandans." 1 vol., 8vo, 1867. (4) "Life Amongst the Indians. A book for Youth." New York and London, 1867. (5) "Shut Your Mouth. The Breath of Life, or mal-respiration, and its effects upon the enjoyments and life of man." New York,

1865; London, 1869. (6) "Last Rambles Amongst the Indians of the Rocky Mountains and the Andes". New York, 1867; London, 1868. (7) "The Lifted and Subsidied Rocks of America." London, 1870. In 1909 Charles Scribner's Sons of New York published "The Boy's Catlin", a carefully-edited volume based on Catlin's "Letters and Notes", and prepared for youthful readers.

In 1832 George Catlin originated the idea of a United States national park. His suggestion was that a large reservation of public lands should be made, to be the Nation's park, "containing man and beast in all the wildness and freshness of their natural beauty." In his "Letters and Notes", previously mentioned, he elaborated this idea, concluding with these words: "I would ask no other monument to my memory, nor any other enrollment of my name amongst the famous dead, than the reputation of having been the founder of such an institution." From time to time thereafter this idea was commented upon favorably by various writers.

Finally, in 1869, when the surprising and amazing marvels of the "Northern Wonderland"—now known as the "Yellowstone National Park," and one of the most interesting geographical localities in North America—were first definitely brought to public notice by a party of surveyors from Helena, Montana, Catlin's idea seemed to have taken root. In 1871, therefore, by direction of the Government, a scientific corps under the leadership of Prof. F. V. Hayden made a careful exploration of the most remarkable features of the "Wonderland." By an Act of Congress approved March 1, 1872, the region thus referred to, under the name of "Yellowstone National Park", was "reserved and withdrawn from settlement, occupation or sale under the laws of the United States, and [was] dedicated and set apart as a public park or pleasuring ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people."

One of the best monographs on the work of George Catlin which I have seen is by Edwin Swift Balch, Esq. (a member of the Philadelphia Bar, and a Corresponding Member of our Society), entitled "The Art of George Catlin." It was read before the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, April 19, 1918, and is printed in the Society's "Proceedings", Vol. LVII, No. 2. Mr. Balch says: "By all odds the most important of all painters of the American Indians is George Catlin. Catlin was a man of many activities; a great traveler and something of an explorer, an ethnologist, a geologist, a voluminous writer, but above all a painter. About his travels and his views on geology and ethnology, his own writings offer all necessary data to a student; of his art, numerous engraved reproductions are accessible. But of his art, from a painter's point of view, and of his rank as an artist, no critical study, to my knowledge, has yet been made. - And to fill this lacuna by a technical examination of the paintings of this remarkable man is the object of this paper, which, although it appears in my name, is really a case of joint authorship. For my wife studied the

Catlin pictures in New York and Washington with me, and many of the observations and ideas here presented are hers. * * *

"Almost all of the hundreds of pictures painted by Catlin are of the same size, about 19x25 inches. Almost all are painted lengthwise, not upright. In his more elaborate compositions he covered the entire surface. But in many cases he painted an oval picture, which he framed with a black line. * * * One of the curiosities of the Catlin collections at Washington and at New York is, that there are no sketch-books, no rough drawings, no slips of paper with pencil or chalk marks or blots of water color. * * *

"Catlin drew well; not academically, but accurately. His portrait heads and full-length portraits may be ranked as fair examples of the style of portraiture in vogue in America in the first half of the nineteenth century. Had he continued painting portraits at home he would doubtless have earned a comfortable competency. And while, of course, Catlin never painted any pictures of architecture requiring linear perspective, his pictures always have the correct artistic perspective which all good landscape painters obtain through intelligent drawing. * * *

"Evidently an inborn gift for composition was one of Catlin's artistic attributes, for he received as little outside artistic influence as any painter ever did; and yet each of his pictures shows a distinct power of composing every subject. He had the dramatic instinct; he knew how to place on canvas a scene he had observed, so as to make it into a picture. * * * Evidently Catlin had a strong artistic memory, and it was that quality which enabled him to get so much life in his work. For his humans and animals have both action and motion; they are alive, they stand plumb on their feet, they walk, they run, they jump; they have none of the arrested motion of certain academic work.

"It is the matter and not the manner of Catlin's pictures, however, which is of supreme importance. The paramount value of his pictures lies in the subjects and in the fact that the subjects are handled realistically. His pictures are extremely original through their subjects, and they are absolutely individual because the subjects appealed to Catlin and were motives to him. There is nothing idealistic about his pictures; they are not imaginative; they are pure realism. His Indians are not the Indians of romance nor of the warped mentality of hostile whites. His Indians are the real thing. * * *

"His pictures are not founded on tradition, and therefore, perhaps, have a certain primitive look. Indeed, Catlin, more than any American, might be called a primitive. The painters of to-day would not see things as Catlin did; they are too learned. * * * Catlin's position among artists is unique. He devoted his life, with almost no pecuniary reward, to delineating the deeds and the artistic beauties of a vanishing race. His pictures are the great record of our displaced predecessors. His incident pictures were

painted directly on the spot, either from Indians posing for him, or from memory immediately afterwards. He painted hundreds of such incident pictures from occurrences he actually saw. No one else has done anything of the kind, except most sporadically. No one could do it now, for all these scenes have disappeared from the face of the earth. Any one in the future, artist or layman, who wants to see how our Indians, untouched by white civilization, actually lived and appeared, *must turn to Catlin.*"

In the Spring of 1908 I was asked to prepare and present a plan, or scheme, for the decoration and embellishment of the interior walls of the new Luzerne County Court House then nearing completion. The scheme which I devised, and which was formally and duly approved and accepted by the County Commissioners, and which was, with some exceptions, carried out later by the contracting artists, comprehended a series of historical and emblematic paintings and frescoes appropriate for a public building in a historic locality such as ours.

The dome of the building, it was planned, should be divided into twelve panels, to be decorated with pictures representing and typifying certain attributes and conditions to be found in a flourishing and successful community or commonwealth, to wit: Peace, Justice, Abundance, Freedom, Independence, Philosophy, Art, etc. To symbolize "Freedom" I selected Abraham Lincoln; "Independence", George Washington; "Philosophy", Benjamin Franklin; "Art", GEORGE CATLIN! Portraits of these well-known Americans were duly painted in four of the panels of the dome, and are now to be seen there.

Mariages - recorded -

Sept- 1803- Edward Mott was Married to Hannah

Emerys Both of Pittstown Luzerne Count Penna

Febr 1804 Julia Nelson to Lucy Parrish Mott
of Tyummark & Mrs R. of Kingston C.S.S. &c -

June 21st 1804 Thomas Milled to Polly Mervin both of
Tyummark C.S.S. &c -

Decem 13th 1804 Benjamin Jones to - Elizabeth Shaver both
of Exeter C.S.S. approved &c -

Decem 27 1804 Elizabeth Lord to Sheldah Brown
Both of Exeter C.S.S. &c

ELDER DAVIS DIMOCK.

RECORD OF BAPTISMS, MARRIAGES, AND VITAL STATISTICS,
COMPILED AND EDITED FROM HIS DIARIES,

BY MRS. ELEANOR MCCARTNEY BAMFORD,
Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

Elder Davis Dimock was born on the Connecticut River, seven miles from the city of Hartford, in that part of the township of Wethersfield, called Rocky Hill, May 27, 1776, the son of Lieut. David Dimock of the Revolutionary Army and his wife Sarah Green, daughter of Warren Green, of Plymouth, Mass. The family removed from Connecticut to Vermont in 1778, and from there to the Wyoming Valley about 1790, and took up lands in Exeter township. Davis Dimock was baptized in the Baptist Church August 9, 1801, and ordained an Elder August 20, 1803. His services as a preacher were in immediate demand throughout the counties of Luzerne, Lackawanna, Susquehanna and Wyoming, and into New York State.

On the 17th of June, 1809, he sold his farm in Exeter and removed with his family to the settlement of Bridgewater, Susquehanna county, the church there as an inducement for his coming giving him 100 acres of land which was supplemented by a gift of 100 acres from Dr. Rose. He built a log house in the wilderness and dwelt there with his family until 1848, when he removed to Montrose, Susquehanna county, to reside with his children.

Elder Dimock had studied medicine in his earlier years, and on coming to Bridgewater where there was no physician, his medical services were often required and given. Finding it an aid rather than a detriment to his gospel ministry, he continued to practice successfully during subsequent life.

On July 13, 1812, he was appointed by Governor Simon Snyder of Pennsylvania, an Associate Judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Susquehanna county, which office he held for over twenty-seven years.

Elder Dimock was sole pastor of the Bridgewater church from its organization in 1808, down to June, 1835, when at his request Elder J. B. Worden became associated with him. In 1847, by reason of failing health, he resigned the pastorate to another. He organized the churches in Auburn, Rush, Middletown, Choconut, Great Bend, Harford, New Milford, Jackson, Gibson, Dimock and possibly elsewhere. He often preached in the Court House in Wilkes-Barre, in Plymouth, Kingston, Pittston, traveling continuously throughout his busy life on horseback.

Elder Dimock married on June 5, 1797, Betsey Jenkins, then seventeen years old, daughter of Benjamin Jenkins and Affa Baldwin his wife, of Luzerne county. They had eleven children. His wife died December 1, 1852, and he died September 27, 1858; both are buried in Montrose, Pa.

From the time he was ordained in 1803, Elder Dimock kept a record of the marriages he performed, and journals of his daily activities. His daughter Lydia, who married Leonard Searle of Montrose, and herself a writer of some note, copied many of these books. Through the vicissitudes of time and the destruction of some by fire, all of the original books are not preserved, but those that remain are now in possession of his great-grand-daughter, the writer. They have been carefully gone over and the vital facts abstracted. These are published herewith. The original marriage book is still intact, but a few additional marriages found in his journals have been added. These journals carry a vivid picture of those pioneer days, and of the sturdy courage and faith in God which carried the pastor throughout his remarkable and useful life.

FOOT NOTE.—For additional details concerning Elder Davis Dimock, see Blackman's History of Susquehannah Co., Pa.; Susquehannah County Centennial History; Cathcart's Baptist Encyclopedia; Jubilee Meetings of Wyoming Baptist Association, 1892; History of Wethersfield, Conn., Vol. II; Greene Family of Plymouth Colony by R. H. Greene.

MARRIAGES RECORDED BY THE REV. DAVIS DIMOCK.

- 1803, Sept. Edward Mott was married to Hannah Emans,
Both of Pittstown, Luzerne Co., Penna.
- 1804, Feby. Jabis Wilcox to Lucy Parish. Mr. W. of Tyrannark, Mrs. P. of Kingston, C & S, do
- 1804, June 21. Thomas Michel to Polly Harding, both of Tyrannark, C & S, do
- 1804, Decm 13. Benjamin Jones to Keziah Shaw, both of Exeter, C & S aforesd
- 1804, Decm 27. Eluzando Lord to Hulda Brau, both of Exeter, C & S, do
- 1805, Nov. 6. John Whitlock to Elizabeth Lee, both of Exeter, do
- 1806, Feby 2. James Roberts to Jemima Point, both of Plimoth, do
- 1806, March 3. Salvanus Fuller to Elizabeth Winter, both of Pittstown, do
- 1806, March 31. Joseph Scott to Sally Benit, both of Pittstown, do
- 1806, Novm. William Cooley¹ to Sary Keeney,² both of Bedford, do
- 1808, March 14. John Miles to Polly Geary, both of Braintrim, do
- 1808, April 13. David Wheeler to Olly Hall, both of Braintrim, do
- 1808, May 16. Conrad Hinds³ to Huldah Harris,⁴ both of Bridgewater, do
- 1808, Sept 10. John Wall to Percilla Hadley, both of Northmoreland.
- 1808, Sept. 18. Benjamin Lathrop⁵ to Clarry Avery,⁶ both of Bridgewater, do
- 1809, Jany 25. David Post⁷ to Minervy Scott,⁸ both of Bridgewater, do

¹Brother of Robert, Stephen and Daniel Cooley, Blackman's History, Susquehanna Co., Pa. p. 251.

²Daughter of Capt. Joshua Keeney. Ibid p. 251.

³Son of Capt. Bartlet Hinds. Ibid p. 287-8.

⁴Daughter of Daniel Harris of Long Island. Ibid p. 294.

⁵Son of Walter Lathrop. Ibid pp. 216, 296.

⁶Daughter of Asahel Avery. Ibid p. 296.

⁷Son of Isaac and Agnes Post of Long Island, b. 1786. Ibid pp. 287, 289, 291.

⁸Daughter of Samuel Scott. Ibid p. 291.

- 1809, Jany 26. John Baldwin⁹ to Polly Jenkins,¹⁰ both of Exeter.
- 1809, Augt 17. Belish Lines to Lory Davis, both of Lawsville, do
- 1809, Decm 28. William Mosher to Lucy Hardy, both of Bridgewater.
- 1810, Feby 10. Doct Eleazer Parker¹¹ to Hannah Dimon¹² at the Great Bend, do
- 1810, Sept 20. John Fansher to Pheebe Coon, both of Bridgewater.
- 1811, Jany 24. Andrew Leighton¹³ to Mary Buel,¹⁴ both of Lawsville, do
- 1812, Novm 26. Benjamin Young to Diadamy Davis of Lawsville, do
- 1812, Decm 25. Adrian Bush to Amy Kallum, both of Bridgewater.
- 1813, April 18. Daniel Tingley of Harford to Ede Potter of Clifford.
- 1813, June 21. Elisha Griffis¹⁵ of Bridgewater to Lattice Blasdell¹⁶ of Rush, do
- 1813, June 24. Adinoam Hinds¹⁷ to Rachel Vail, both of Bridgewater, Susq. Co.
- 1813, July 30. Plina Birchard¹⁸ to (Mrs.) Patty Griffis, both of Bridgewater, do
- 1813, Aug. 10. (In Rush) Elijah Mott¹⁹ to (Mrs.) Caroline Lathrop, both of Rush.
- 1813, Novm 18. Robert Griffis¹⁵ to Lydia Robertson, (at John Robertson's²⁰, her father), both of Bridgewater, do

⁹Son of Waterman Baldwin, Family Records.

¹⁰Daughter of Benjamin Jenkins, Family Records.

¹¹From Connecticut. History Susquehanna Co., Pa. p. 75, 86.

¹²Daughter of Jonathan Dimon, removed to Kingston, Pa., 1810. Ibid p. 61, 86.

¹³From Scotland. Ibid p. 266.

¹⁴Daughter of Nathan Buel from New Milford. Ibid pp. 357, 362, 371.

¹⁵Son of Abner Griffis, from Otsego, N. Y. Ibid p. 357.

¹⁶Daughter of John Blasdell; she died 1861. Ibid p. 372.

¹⁷Son of Ebenezer Hinds of Middleboro, Mass. Ibid p. 294.

¹⁸Son of Israel Birchard. Ibid p. 365.

¹⁹Son of Laomi Mott. Ibid p. 372.

²⁰John Robertson and his father-in-law, David Sherer, came from New Hampshire. Ibid p. 366.

- 1813, Novm 26. Jedediah Taylor to Lucinda Kallum, both of Bridgewater.
 1813, Decm 30. (In Choconut) Peter Brown of Silver Lake to Mrs. Hannah Griswald of Choconut.
 1814, Oct. 19. Chapman Carr to Cintha Peckins, both of Bridgwt, do
 1814, Oct. 19. Stephen Hinds to Susan Hinds.
 1814, Decm 18. Doct Mason Denison to Welthy Lathrop, both of Bridgewater, do

MARRIAGES FORGOT TO RECORD AT THE TIME.

1809. David Scovill to Clarrica Harding, Exeter, do
 (No date) Jasper Miles to Elizabeth Bailey, Braintrim.
 (No date) Spencer Lathrop to Clarrica Tupper,²¹ Rush.
 1811. Jonathan Vaughn²² of Bridgewater to Lydia Avery,²³ of Rush, do
 1812, (Aug. 18). Billings Babcock to Sarah Anne Sherman, both of Bridgewater, do
 date forgot. David Avery²⁴ of Rush to Diamtha Micomb of Bridgewater, do
 date forgot. Joseph Chalker²⁵ to Mrs. Cox, Both of Chocunut, do

The foregoing is a true copy of an old Record

Remember one more

- Linus Briant to Deborah Babcock, both of Bridgewater, do
 1815, Jan'y 12. Jirah Briant of Choconut to Naoma Bixby of Midletown, Susq. Co. Penna.
 1815, Jan'y 15. Martin Pearce of Lisle N. Y. to Esther Peckins of Bridgewater.
 1815, March 1. Joseph Post to Parthena Cook, both of Bridgewater.
 1815, May 18. Daniel Sturdevant to Miss Sarah Hall, daughter of Mrs. (E.) Tingley.
 1815, May 28. Merit Mott²⁶ to Caroline Tupper,²⁷ both of Midletown, Susq.

²¹Daughter of Nathan Tupper. Ibid p. 217.

²²From Arlington, Vt. Ibid p. 308.

²³Daughter of Ezekiel Avery. Ibid p. 251.

²⁴Son of Ezekiel Avery. Ibid p. 251.

²⁵Brother of Charles and Daniel Chalker. Ibid p. 431.

²⁶Son of Laomi Mott, d. 1857, ae 82 yrs., from Stockbridge, Mass., with his father-in-law, Samuel Clark. Ibid p. 372.

²⁷Daughter of Nathan Tupper from Unadilla, N. Y. Ibid p. 216.

- 1815, April 19 last past Nehemiah Scott²⁸ to (my daughter) Sarah Dimock,²⁹ both of Bridgewater.
- 1815, July 9. James Vail to Ruth Cook, both of Bridgewater.
- 1815, July 16. William Shipman to Sally Vaughn, both of Bridgewater.
- 1815, Novm 9. Samuel Howell of Tunkhannock Township, Luzerne county to Laura Robertson of Bridgewater.
- 1816, Jan'y 1. A. H. Read³⁰ Esq. to Eliza (or Elizabeth) Cooper, both of Montrose.
- 1816, Jan'y 2. Ezra Conant to Achesa Doty, both of Chocanut.
- 1816, Feby 15. Luther Peck³¹ of Lawsville to Clarisa Stephens of Bridgewater.
- 1816, April 10. William Doty³² to Miss Faxon.
- 1816, June 23. William Parker from Conn. to Anne Scott of Bridgewater.
- 1816, Sept, 10. Joshua Smith Junr. to Peggy Young both of Springville.
- 1816, Sept. 16. Josiah Lord³⁴ Jr. of Waterford, to Sally Hall of Bridgewater.
- 1816, Sept. 19. Elias Palmer of Bridgewater to Abigail Tupper of Midletown.
- 1816, Sept 24. Samuel Thatcher of Midletown to Unice Tupper of Rush.
- 1816, Oct. 16. Robert Day³⁵ to Lucy Bush, both of Bridgewater.
- 1816, Novm 21. Wm. Mede of Baltimore Citty to Mary Stephens of Bridgewater.
- 1817, Jan'y 1. Harry A. Birchard³⁶ to Sally Wicks, both of Silver Lake.

²⁸Son of Samuel Scott. Ibid p. 302.

²⁹Daughter of Rev. Davis Dimock.

³⁰Almon Heath Read, b. Shelburn, Vt., June 12, 1790. Ibid p. 332.

³¹From Connecticut. Ibid p. 312.

³²Son of Captain Ezra Doty, a Revolutionary soldier. Ibid p. 432.

³³Son of Joshua Smith, Sr., and his wife, Sabra, from Groton, Conn. Ibid p. 229.

³⁴Son of Josiah Lord, Sr., from Lyme, Conn. Ibid p. 401.

³⁵His second marriage. Ibid p. 287.

³⁶Son of Israel Birchard from Granby, Mass. Harry A. B. md. 2d Naomi Bixby Briant, widow of Jirah, who d. 1844 ae 64, she d. 1870 ae 72. Ibid pp. 365, 370, 381, 433.

- 1817, Jan'y 12. John Bard³⁷ Jr. to Almeda Wilson,³⁸ both of Bridgewater.
- 1817, Feby 5. John Hawkins of Winzor N. Y. to Loviza Owin of Choconut, Susq.
- 1817, Feby 11. Peter Townsend to Polly Osterhout, both of Northmoreland.
- 1817, April 1. George Griswald³⁹ to Betsey Rose,⁴⁰ both of Choconut.
- 1817, May 3. Isaac Van Brunt of Warren to Phebe Newcomb of Bridgewater.
- 1817, June 18. Nathaniel Lock⁴¹ to Hetta Ross, both of Choconut.
- 1817, June 29. Calvin D. Cobb of Bridgewater to Phebe Stone of Midletown.
- 1817, June 19. Samuel Picket⁴² of Rush to Navey Avery of Auburn.
- 1817, Augt. 10. Mathew Baldwin⁴³ to Betsey Vaughn, both of Bridgewater.
- 1817, Sept. 9. Ruluff W. Green to Mary Goodsell, both of Choconut.
- 1817, Sept. 21. David Young⁴⁴ Jr. to Sabara Smith, (daughter of Joshua⁴⁵), both of Springfield.
- 1817, Sept. 28. Isaac Stewart⁴⁶ to Mary Lamson.
- 1817, Decm 14. Thomas Thayer⁴⁷ to Lydia Owin, Both of Choconut.
- 1818, Jan'y 8. David Wilson⁴⁸ to Sabara Tanner, Both of Bridgewater.
- 1818, April 1. David Joel Owen⁴⁹ of Choconut to Mrs. Susannah Curtis of Silver Lake.

³⁷Son of Capt. John Bard from Lebanon, Conn. Ibid pp. 285, 296.

³⁸Born 1800, daughter of Stephen Wilson, a native of Vermont and his wife a sister of Samuel Coggs well. Ibid pp. 285-6.

³⁹Son of Joshua Griswold from Vermont. Ibid p. 432.

⁴⁰Daughter of James Rose from Philadelphia. Ibid pp. 430, 445.

⁴¹Son of Capt. John Locke, one of the Boston Tea Party, 1773. Ibid p. 433.

⁴²Son of Capt. Joab Pickett. Ibid pp. 213-4.

⁴³Son of Noah Baldwin. Ibid p. 304.

⁴⁴Son of David Young, Sr., a brother of George Young, Sr. Ibid p. 230.

⁴⁵Joshua Smith from Groton, Conn. Ibid p. 229.

⁴⁶Son of Nathaniel Stuart from Hinesburg, Vt. Ibid p. 364.

⁴⁷Son of James Thayer. Ibid p. 431.

⁴⁸Son of Stephen Wilson. Ibid pp. 285-6.

⁴⁹From Conn. Ibid p. 431.

- 1818, May 7. Francis Perkins to Rebecah C. Sherman, both of Bridgewater.
- 1818, July 23. John Farmer to Hannah Whitney, both of Bridgewater.
- 1818, Aug. 20. Joseph Elsworth⁵⁰ to Mary Fansher, all of Bridgewater.
- 1818, Octbr 12. Alford Lathrop of Rush to Charlotte Farmer of Bridgewater.
- 1818, Novm 11. Linas Waters to Sally Luce, both of Bridgewater.
- 1819, May 14. Albert Moss⁵¹ of New Milford to Mrs. Buella Pierpont of Springville, Susq. Co.
- 1819, Jany 27. Joseph B. Chamberlin of Silver Lake to Malinda Smith of Choconut.
- 1819, Sept. 5. John Dexter of Rhode Island to Philer Gray of Braintrim, Susq. Co.
- 1819, Decm —. D. D. Bebe to Mrs. L. D. Boles, both of Bridgewater.
- 1819, Decm 20. John Fessenden to Miss Barney of Chocunut, (daughter of Benaiah Barney⁵²).
- 1820, April 30. Ira Curtis⁵³ to Celinda Harris, both of Bridgewater.
- 1820, June 29. Thomas Fairbrother of Union to Elizabeth Griffen of Choconut.
- 1820, July 12. (At Widow Watrous's) Aaron Green to Anne Nicherson, both of Bridgewater.
- 1820, Oct. 7. W. Elansen Coy to Lovisa Jennings, Both of Montrose.
- 1820, Oct. 19. Mr. Daniel Lyons⁵⁴ of Great Bend to Mrs. Anne Smith of Springville.
- 1820, Octb. 22. Mr. Benjamin Pittingall to Mrs. Julianne Baxter, both of Bridgewater.
- 1820, Decm 25. Asahel Roberts of Nicholson, Luzerne to Lois Pameter of Bridgewater.
- 1820, Decm 25. Asa Hartshorn to Mary Catlin,⁵⁵ both of Bridgewater.

⁵⁰Son of Henry Ellsworth. Ibid p. 156.

⁵¹From Cheshire, Conn. Ibid p. 156.

⁵²Brother of David Barney, a native of New Hampshire. Ibid pp. 423-4.

⁵³Son of Nathaniel Curtis, sen., originally from Conn. Ibid p. 299.

⁵⁴Son of David Lyons, one of the Boston Tea Party 1773. Ibid p. 82.

⁵⁵Daughter of Putnam Catlin, Grave Stone, Montrose, Pa.

- 1821, Jany 1. Darius Bixby⁵⁶ to Lodeme Mott⁵⁷ } At Br. L.
 1821, Jany 1. Willard Mott⁵⁷ to Bula Tupper⁵⁸ }
 Mott's, his daughter and his son. At Midletown.
- 1821, Feby 15. (At my house) Christian Shelop⁵⁹ to Hannah Prime,⁵⁹ both of Bridgewater.
- 1821, March 8. Otis Smith to Sally Moor, both of Chocanut.
- 1821, April 22. Josiah Bebee to Mary Welsey, both of Bridgewater.
- 1821, July 5. Alexander Allen to Patty Roberts, both of Rush.
- 1821, Octbr 8. David A. Keeney of Ullisus to Esther Platt of Union N. Y.
- 1821, Octobr 18. Benjamin J. Dimock⁶⁰ to Betsey Murry of Choconut.
- 1822, Jany 10. (At B. Stewart's) Stephen Mark of Midletown to Mary Stewart of Rush.
- 1822, Feby 5. Ira Gage to Eunice Turrell, both of Bridgewater.
- 1822, Feby 14. (At Br. J. Bard's) Levi Wells of Wyalusing to Fanny Bard of Bridgewater.
- 1822, Feby 28. John Lappert to Matilda Chamberlin, both of Aselum, Bradford County.
- 1822, May 12. (At E. Main's⁶¹) Marry Mills to Irene Main, both of Bridgewater.
- 1822, June 16. William Thatcher⁶² to Anne Peckins, both of Bridgewater.
- 1822, June 30. Richard Bixby (son of Darius Bixbe⁵⁰) of Midletown to Mary Birge of Choconut.
- 1822, Novm 21. Caleb Weeks to Lora Frink, both of Bridgewater.

⁵⁶From Vermont, History Susquehanna Co., Pa. pp. 373, 348.

⁵⁷Children of Loami Mott from Stockbridge, Mass. Ibid p. 372.

⁵⁸Daughter of Nathan Tupper from Unadilla, N. Y. Ibid pp. 216-7.

⁵⁹Christian Shelop from New York settled on Dutch Hill. His father-in-law, Henry Pruyne, came at the same time, 1812. He was a Revolutionary soldier, d. 1843, and his widow Rachel d. 1844 ae 81. Ibid p. 364.

⁶⁰Son of Rev. Davis Dimock. Family Records.

⁶¹Ezekiel Maine was brother of Samuel, Nehemiah and Meacham Maine from the East. History Susquehanna Co., Pa. p. 357.

⁶²Brother of Abithar and Samuel Thatcher. Ibid p. 375.

- 1822, Novm 26. Oringe Mott³⁸ of Midletown to Widow Barker.
- 1822 Decm 18. (At Widow Dean's) Nathan Lyons to Elizabeth Deans,⁶⁴ both of Bridgewater.
- 1822, Decm 25. Samuel Bard⁶⁵ to (Mrs.) Abigail Wells, both of Bridgewater.
- 1822, Decm 31. (At Midletown) Wilcox Chase to (Mrs.) Julia Mott, both of Midletown.
- 1823, Feby 9. Orrin Stephens Jr. to Mary (Betsey) Vaughn (daughter of Jonathan Vaughn), both of Bridgewater.
- 1823, Feby 13. Hubbard Avery to Betsey Dimock,⁶⁶ both of Bridgewater.
- 1823, March 5. Lyman Churchill of Lawsville to Katurah Cornwell of Montrose.
- 1823, June 8. Horace Smith to Marilla Meacham (daughter of Widow Meacham), Both of Bridgewater.
- 1823, June 26. Jonathan C. Sherman⁶⁷ of Midletown to Comfort Kellum (daughter of Luther Kellum⁶⁸) of Bridgewater.
- 1823, July 27. (At J. Sherman's) Simeon Boles⁶⁹ of Rush to Ruth Dover of Midletown.
- 1823, Augt 21. Jonas Fuller⁷⁰ to Clarissa Main, both of Bridgewater.
- 1823, Sept 7. Charles Hatch to Hannah Stewart,⁷¹ both of Great Bend.
- 1823, Sept 17. Caleb Bush to Nancy Allen, both of Bridgewater.
- 1823, Octbr 16. Frederick Foster to Betsey Trumbull, Both of Bridgewater.
- 1823, Octbr 28. (At T. Cox's Choconut) William Gordon of Union to Miss Eliza Smith of Vestal N. Y.

⁶³Brother of Loami Mott. Ibid p. 372.

⁶⁴Daughter of Luther Dean, d. Sept., 1813. Ibid p. 304.

⁶⁵Son of Capt. John Bard. Ibid p. 296.

⁶⁶Daughter of Rev. Davis Dimock, Family Records.

⁶⁷Son of Christopher Sherman, a Revolutionary soldier, d. 1835; his widow d. Dec. 1843, ae 78. History Susquehanna Co., Pa. p. 365.

⁶⁸Luther Kallam from Stonington, Conn., b. 1760, d. June 5, 1846, in 86th year, a Revolutionary soldier. Ibid p. 371.

⁶⁹Son of Robinson Bolles from Groton, Conn. Ibid p. 363.

⁷⁰A millwright from Vermont, 1813. Ibid p. 365.

⁷¹Daughter of Josiah Stewart, son of Lieut. Lazarus Stewart, Junr. Ibid p. 74.

- 1823, Octbr 30. Charles Fordham to Hannah Bowman (daughter of the late Rufus Bowman⁷²) of the village-Bridgewater.
- 1823, Octbr 31. (At Middletown) Oringe Mott⁷³ Jr. to Emeline Ball, both of Middletown.
- 1823, Novm 12. Zura Doty⁷⁴ of Bridgewater to Phebe Ann Bostwick of Rush.
- 1823, Decm 4. (At Middletown) Richard Ford to Mary Mott, both of Middletown.
- 1823, Decm 28. Artemus Hall to Sarah Bates, at Great Bend.
- 1824, Jany 1. (At D. Chalker's) Amos Heath⁷⁵ to Chloe Chalker (daughter of D. Chalker⁷⁶) of Choconut.
- 1824, Jany 1. (At Capt. Bard's) George Young of Springville to Mary Bard, (daughter of John Bard) of Bridgewater.
- 1824, Jany 8. (At Br. L. Turrel's⁷⁷) Adolphus Omstead of Pike, Bradford Co. to Britannia Turrel (daughter of Leham Turrel) of Middletown.
- 1824, Jany 15. (At Dutch Hill in Bridgewater) Ezekiel Main⁷⁸ Jr. to Catherine Shellop, both of Bridgewater.
- 1824, Jany 19. (At Middletown) Abraham Stewart⁷⁹ to Lorry Leonard.
- 1824, Jany 25. Widow Daniels married at Eyn.
- 1824, Feby 11. Austin Whipple of Berkshire N. Y. to Mary Cox of Choconut.
- 1824, March 24. Jackson Scott to Polly Baldwin (daughter of S. Baldwin⁸⁰) of Bridgewater.
- 1824, April 28. (At Great Bend) Joseph Bowes to Rachel Sturgess, both of Great Bend.

⁷²From Windsor, N. Y., d. 1823, wife d. 1856. Ibid p. 320.

⁷³Son of Orange Mott, Sr., d. Jan. 23, 1871, ae 98 yrs. 3 mos. 6 days, a brother of Loami Mott. Ibid p. 372.

⁷⁴Son of Capt. Ezra Doty, a Revolutionary soldier. Ibid p. 432.

⁷⁵Son of Jacob Heath. Ibid p. 436.

⁷⁶Daniel Chalker was a brother of Joseph and Charles Chalker. Ibid p. 431.

⁷⁷Leman Turrel, b. New Milford, Litchfield Co., Conn., July 5, 1776, d. Dec. 28, 1848, in 73d year; his wife Lucy d. Dec., 1864, in 89th year. Ibid p. 373.

⁷⁸Son of Ezekiel Maine, Sr. Ibid p. 357.

⁷⁹Son of Nathaniel Stuart from Vermont. Ibid p. 364.

⁸⁰Samuel Baldwin from Salisbury, N. Y., son of Noah Baldwin. Ibid pp. 299, 304.

- 1824, May 25. Homer Sively of Rush to Hannah Chatfield of Midletown.
- 1824, Novm 17. Miner Pickett⁸¹ to Polly Frink, both of Bridgewater.
- 1824, Novm 25. Edward Heald to Anne Shearer, both of Choconut.
- 1824, Novm 28. James D. Allen to Anne Maria Smith, both of Bridgewater.
- 1825, Jany 6. James Fairbrother of Vestal N. Y. to Betsey Addison, Choconut.
- 1825, June. Hiram Hand to Sylvie T. Cheever.
- 1825, July 12. J. D. Hill to Miss Marsh, both of Jackson.
- 1825, Sept 24. Jasper Stanley⁸² to Roxanna Shearer, both of Choconut.
- 1826, Jany 4. Zebulon Lathrop of Rush to Mariah Thatcher of Midletown.
- 1826, Jany 5. Salmon Lathrop of Rush to Marrilla Mott of Midletown.
- 1826, Jany 26. Edmond West to Sally Backus,⁸³ both of Bridgewater.
- 1826, Feby 6. Wm. Dennis to Minerva Janks, both of Montrose.
- 1826, March 2. Suel Farr of Bridgewater to Harriet Fiske, of Newmilford.
- 1826, June 8. Henry Shellop to Betsey Main, both of Bridgewater.
1826. David Banker to Betsey Watson, both of Lawsville.
- 1826, Novm 21. Zenas Nichols of Bridgewater to Maryanne How of Brooklin.
- 1826, Novm 23. John C. Lacy of Braintrim to Permelia Dean of Bridgewater.
- 1826, Decm. Milton Stevens to Cintha Smith, both of Springville.
- 1826, Decm. Proctor Kirby of Bridgewater to Sally Shelop of the same.
- 1826, Decm 24. Elanson Coy to Betsy Rogers, both of Montrose.
- 1827, Jany 4. Hiram Dover of Midletown to Clarrica Tupper of Rush.

⁸¹Son of Joab Pickett from Conn. Ibid p. 215.

⁸²Son of Matthew Stanley, d. 1838, ae 72. Ibid p. 433.

⁸³Daughter of Samuel Backus from Norwich, Conn. Ibid p. 294. Gr. Stone, Montrose.

- 1826, July 16. Hiram Rockwell of Newmilford to Rebeckah Merrit of Brooklin.
- 1827, Sept 27. Ezekiel Fritz Saylor to Hester Frink, both of Montrose.
- 1827, Octbr 3. Lorenzo Wigger to Jerusha Bunn, both of Midletown.
- 1827, Octbr 9. Mr. Emble Shaffer to Mrs. Urania Turril, both of Montrose.
- John Smith of Bridgewater to Miss Eliza Foster of Newmilford.
- 1827, Decm 25. Truman O. Goodsell⁸⁴ of Springville to Miss Lois Frink of Bridgewater.
- 1827, Decm 31. Nathaniel Price of Bridgewater to Elizabeth Bunn of Midletown.
- 1828, Jany 10. Oliver Lozier of Silver Lake to Olive Chamberlin of Choconut.
- 1828, Jany 16. George Backus to Eliza Crandell, both of Bridgewater.
- 1828, Aug. 7. Daniel Trobridge⁸⁵ Esq. of Great Bend to Miss Elizabeth Barker of Sherburn N. Y.
- 1828, Octb 7. Ralph Pease to Harriet Scoville, both of Owego N. Y.
- 1828, Novm 13. Asa Bixby⁸⁶ of Midletown to Almeda West of Bridgewater.
- 1828, Novm 20. Joel Turril⁸⁷ to Paty Griffis, both of Midletown.
- 1829, Jany 8. Orrin J. Williams⁸⁸ to Emaline E. Webster of Bridgewater.
- 1829, Jany 22. Mr. John Watson to Derrinda Ackman, both of Lawsville.
- 1829, Feby 24. Mr. Stanley Turrel⁸⁹ to Miss Ruth Alice Thatcher, Both of Middletown.
- 1829, Feby 26. Ezekiel Lathrop⁹⁰ of Springville to Miss Lorinda Lathrop of Rush.

⁸⁴Son of Jacob Goodsell. Ibid p. 433.

⁸⁵Son of David Trowbridge, a brother of Oliver Trowbridge 1st. Ibid p. 63.

⁸⁶Son of Darius Bixby. Ibid p. 348.

⁸⁷Son of Leman Turrel. Ibid p. 373.

⁸⁸Son of Joseph and Eleanor (Stephens) Williams, who came from Pierstown, Otsego Co., N. Y., with his father-in-law, Jarah Stephens. Ibid p. 311.

⁸⁹Son of Leman Turrel. Ibid p. 373.

⁹⁰Son of Ezekiel Lathrop. Ibid pp. 227-8.

- 1829, March 26. Pelig Wood⁹¹ to Larenda Garlute, both of Bridgewater.
- 1829, April 7. Mr. Alpha Durham, Merchant of Tunkhannock to Miss Jane Whipple of Windham, both of Luzerne Co.
- 1829, April 23. Joseph M. Billings⁹² of Auburn to Miss Polly Miles of Springville.
- 1829, July 9. Alfred Baldwin to Harriet Frinke, all Montrose.
- 1829, July 30. Stephen Webb to Lydia Warner, Both of Bridgewater.
- 1829, Feby 1. Mr. Norman Williams to Miss Malenda Willson (This entry is crossed off in Marriage Record. E. M. B.)
- 1829, Octb 3. Mr. Jerah Stephens to Miss Malinda Webb, both of Bridgewater.
- 1829, Octb 15. Mr. Stirling Wells of Wyalusing to Miss Sophia Bard of Bridgewater.
- 1829, Novm 5. Mr. Joseph Passmore⁹³ of Auburn to Miss Abigail Arms of Bridgewater.
- 1829, Jany 25. Mr. Joseph Rees to Miss Anne Clerr (or Kerr, E. M. B.), both of Bridgewater.
- 1829, Decm 30. Mr. George Ball to Miss Maritt Stone, both of Middletown.
- 1830, Feby 11. Tompson Peckins to Jerusha Backus, both of Bridgewater.
- 1830, Feby 21. Mr. Amos Smith of Lisle, Broome Co. N. Y. to Miss Jemima Smith of Bridgewater.
- 1830, June 13. Doctor Thomas Jackson of Chenango Point to Miss Fanny Post of Montrose.
- 1830, July 18. Mr. Charles Stanford to Miss Fidelia Southward, all of Lawsville.
- 1830, July 25. Mr. Amos Burrows Junr. to Miss Mary Maluish, Both of Bridgewater.
- 1830, Octb 27. Isaac Griffin⁹⁴ to Julie Moor, both of Choconut.
- 1830, Novm 2. Mr. Francis Barney to Miss Betsey Currier, both of Choconut

⁹¹Son of Cornelius Wood. Ibid p. 310.

⁹²Son of Eli Billings, Sr. Ibid p. 251.

⁹³Son of John Passmore of Rhode Island and his wife Elizabeth Overfield of Braintrim, md. Feb., 1807. He d. Mch. 12, 1835, ae 53 yrs. Ibid p. 251.

⁹⁴Son of Robert Griffin. Ibid p. 435.

- also, Mr. Jacob Acker of Owego N. Y. to Miss Catherine Barney of Choconut.
- also, Mr. Lyman H. Tucker of Vestal N. Y. to Miss Sarah Barney of Choconut.
- All at one place, one brother and two sisters.
- 1830, Novm 21. Mr. Orrin Wood of Chenango N. Y. to Miss Sally Baldwin of Bridgewater.
- 1830, Novm 23. Mr. Elisha Sturdevant of Braintrim to Miss Betsey Hill of Silver Lake.
- 1831, Jan'y 13. Rufus Merriman to Huldah Cheevers, both of Bridgewater.
- 1831, Feby 3. James Sterling of Braintrim, Luzerne co. to Eliza Passmore of Auburn, Susq. Co.
- 1831, April 6. John Stephens to Lodeme Bixby, both of Midletown.
- 1831, July 24. Nelson Warner to Eliza Baldwin, both of Bridgewater.
- 1831, Augt 1. Mr. Silas Guild of Harford to Mrs. Mary Burdick of Bridgewater.
- 1831, Sept 7. William L. Post,⁹⁵ Esq. to Miss Dotha Catlin, both of Montrose.
- 1831, same day. Mr. David Watson to Miss Hannah Turril, both of Lawsville.
- 1831, Octbr 12. John Stout of Bridgewater to Agnes Hinds of Montrose.
- 1831, Novm 16. Mr. John Roe, Merchant, of Honesdale, to Miss Ruth Sayre of Montrose.
- 1831, Decm 28. Joab Chamberlin of Choconut to Rebeckah Dean of Bridgewater.
- 1832, Feby 22. Moses Overfield Esq. of Braintrim, Luzerne Co. to Miss Fairlee Lommis of Springville.
- 1832, Feby 29. Mr. Levi C. Tupper of Rush to Miss Mariah Stone of Midletown.
- 1832, Octbr 3. Mr. James Shearer⁹⁶ of Choconut to Miss Matilda Baldwin of Bridgewater.
- 1832, Octbr 4. Davis Dimock⁹⁷ Jr. my son to Mariah Ward.

⁹⁵Son of Isaac Post and Susannah Hinds, daughter of Capt. Conrad Hinds and his 1st wife. Capt. Hinds md. 2nd the widow of Isaac Post, Sen. Agnes —, of Southampton, L. I. Ibid pp. 289, 292.

⁹⁶Son of David Sherer, a Revolutionary soldier. Ibid p. 435.

⁹⁷Son of Rev. Davis Dimock.

- 1832, Decm 2. Artimus Hall of Great Bend to Lucienda Dean of Bridgewater.
- 1832, Oct 23. Leonard Searle to Lydia C. Dimock.⁹⁸
- 1832, Decm 10. Peter Rece to Lucy Watrous, both of Bridgewater.
- 1832, Decm 13. John L. Travis of New Milford to the Widow Chalker.
- 1833, Jany 10. Albert Warner to Mary Austin, both of Bridgewater.
- 1833, Feby 28. Mr. Richard T. Keeney of Braintrim to Miss Anne M. Young of Rush.
- 1833, April 7. Asa Green Dimock⁹⁹ (my son) to Mary Ben-nit by Elder Henry Curtis at my house. He was but 19 and she 16 on the 15th of April last.
- 1833, Sept 5. James Wood of Wyalusing Bradford Co. to Malissa Vausburg of Dimock, Susq. Co. Penna.
- 1833, Sept 5. George W. Roberts of Rush to Eliza L. Patch of Bridgewater.
- 1833, Sept 19. Daniel Gary of New Troy, Luzerne Co. to Maryanne Tupper of Middletown.
- 1833, Sept 26. Joseph Birch to Ruth Hammon, Both of Dimock.
- 1833, Octbr 22. Mr. Hiram Park¹⁰⁰ to Miss Emerett, daughter of Sam Baldwin.⁸⁰
- 1833, Octbr 12. Albert L. Post⁹⁵ of Montrose to Elenor C. Williams¹⁰¹ of Bridgewater.
- 1833, Novm 28. Mr. William Fairbrother of Vestal N. Y. to Miss Etarpy Picket of Rush.
- 1833, Decm 15. Phineas Warner to Mrs. Emalie Warner, both of Bridgewater.
- 1834, Jany 1. Mr. Oliver Hayze of Truxton, Cortland Co. N. Y. to Miss Amey Newcomb of Bridgewater.
- same day. Doct Isaac B. Harris of Rush to Miss Rachel Baker of Bridgewater.

⁹⁸Daughter of Rev. Davis Dimock.

⁹⁹Son of Rev. Davis Dimock.

¹⁰⁰Son of Dr. Asa Park, a native of Preston, Conn., md. 1808 Lorana, sister of Samuel Gregory, children of Asahel Gregory, d. April, 1842, ae 83, a Revolutionary soldier. Hiram moved West 1836 and d. 1838. Ibid pp. 166, 315.

¹⁰¹Daughter of Joseph and Eleanor (Stephens) Williams. Ibid p. 311.

- 1834, Jan'y 2. Mr. William Tayler¹⁰² of Choconut to Miss Sally Caswell of Midletown.
- 1834, Jan'y 26. Mr. Solomon Holcome of Coventry N. Y. to Miss Olive Walling of this Village.
- 1834, Feby 26. Mr. Jacob Sturdevant of Braintrim, Luzerne Co. to Miss Maria Lathrop of Springville.
- 1834, March 2. Mr. John Hinds to Miss Sarah Wood, both of Bridgewater.
- 1834, March 19. Mr. Silas Dewit of Harmony to Miss Pheebe Smith of Dimock.
- 1834, March 20. Mr. Richard Stone to Miss Henryette Stephens, both of Dimock.
- 1834, July 3. Mr. Abijah Gregory to Miss Hannah Lane, both of Dimock.
- 1834, Sept 16. Mr. Almon Virgil formerly of Cazenova N. Y. to Miss Almera Stone of Midletown.
1835. Mr. Shaler Shipman to Miss Nancy Stanford, both of Bridgewater.
- 1835, Octbr 1. Mr. Confucius F. Loomis of Sanford, Broom Co. N. Y. to Miss Betsey Lyons¹⁰³ of Great Bend.
- 1836, May 5. Mr. James Mead of Cander, Tioga Co. to Miss Sally Birch of Dimock.
- 1836, July 6. In Conklin in State of New York, Robert Wattles to Susannah Wattles.
- 1836, July 4. Mr. (Joseph F.) McKune¹⁰⁴ of Harmony to Betsey A. Curtis of Conklin, Broom Co. N. Y.
1837. Mr. Patrick to E. L. Bart.
- 1837, March. Stewart Kent to Harriet Watrous.
- 1837, April 9. Charles Brown of Montrose to Charlotte Kenyon of Bridgewater.
- 1837, July 26. Seth Mitchell¹⁰⁵ of New Milford to Mrs. Nancy Grover of Montrose.
- 1837, Sept 6. Aaron Clark¹⁰⁶ to Caroline Woodhouse.
- 1837, Sept 12. Noah Baldwin to Laura Gregory of Auburn.

¹⁰²Son of Amos Taylor, grandson of David Taylor. Ibid p. 197.

¹⁰³Daughter of Daniel Lyons. Journal of Lydia Dimock Searle, 1860.

¹⁰⁴Son of Joseph McKune, Sr. History Susquehanna Co., Pa., p. 105.

¹⁰⁵His 2nd marriage. He was b. Roxbury, Litchfield Co., Conn., April 9, 1785. Ibid p. 149.

¹⁰⁶Son of Elder James Clark. Ibid p. 443.

- 1837, Octb 11. At Tuscarora, Mr. Jasper Miles of Dimock to Miss Ursula Black of the former place.
- 1838, Jany 2. Benjamin Case to Susan Cornwell.
- 1839, Feby 3. H. B. Ellis to Sarah Lathrop, Both of Rush.
- 1839, Feby 26. Charles Kent of Brooklin to Henryette Watrous of Bridgewater.
- 1839, May 19. Stephen H. Darrow of Midletown to Miss Jane E. Silsbee of Braintrim.
- 1839, Sept 11. Reuben Allen of Tuscarora to Sarah Green, Braintrim.
- 1839, Novm 28. John Bailey to Jerusha Bixby, both of Midletown.
- 1840, Jany 1. Owen Wilbur of Broom Co. to Emeline Rus-sagee of Bridgewater.
- 1840, Jany 1. Crispin Vaughn to Miss Ruthanne Shufelt, both of Bridgewater.
- 1840, April 7. Mr. Henry S. Dover of Bridgewater to Miss Maryanne Blasdell of Rush.
- 1840, July 17. Samuel Scott to Sarah Gregory, both of Bridgewater.
- 1841, Feby 2. Mr. Edward Dodd of Owego N. Y. to Miss Sally Anne Lacey of Braintrim.
- 1841, Sept 23. Mr. Theodore Sterling of Braintrim to Miss Susan A. Loomis of Springville.
- 1841, Octb 4. Mr. Churza Hollister of Bridgewater to Mrs. Olive Silsbee of Braintrim.
- 1841, Novm 21. Wm. E. Kennedy to Sally Skinner, both of Braintrim.
- 1841, Novm 22. Henry Kenney to Maria Antoinette Lacy.
- 1842, June 22. Mr. Daniel Hallock to Miss Matilda Terry, both of Azalum.
- 1842, Octb 8. Mr. William Gregory of Washington to Miss Joanna Morey of the same place.
- 1842, Octb 25. Mr. Burton Wakeley to Miss Eliza Sturde-vant, both of Braintrim.
- 1842, Octb. Mr. Aron Barton to Miss Martha Atkins, both of Washington.
- 1843, Jany. Doct. Plant of Laceyville to Miss Alice Black of Tuscarora.
- 1842, Novm. H. P. Loomis of Dimock to Elizabeth Adams of Mahoopany.
- 1843, Feby 22. Mr. Job Green to Miss Mariah Doolittle, both of Braintrim.

- 1843, July 5. Mr. Henry Thayer to Miss Abie Conger, both of Braintrim.
- 1843, Octbr 1. In Braintrim, Mr. Chancey Jackson to Miss Silva Smith, both of Windham.
- 1843, Novm 23. Mr. Joseph Benninger to Miss Lois A. Carter, both of Auburn.
- 1844, Jan'y 1. William E. Burrows of Braintrim to Parna E. McCloude of Auburn.
- 1844, Jan'y 23. Mr. Alfred Ackley of Tuscarora to Miss Margaret Lacy of Braintrim.
- 1844, Feby 12. Mr. Zenas Nichols to Miss Eliza Meriman, both of Bridgewater.
- 1844, March 23. Mr. Thomas Buttles to Mrs. Ruth Grenell, both of Bridgewater.
- 1844, Feby 25. Samuel S. Cheever of Braintrim to Miss Clarissa Gray of Tuscarora.
- 1844, March 3. Mr. Wm. A. Holt of Windham to Mrs. Margaret Myers of Tuscarora.
- 1844, June 12. Mr. Hartson Avery of Lewisville N. Y. to Theresa Avery of Braintrim.
- 1844, Sept 24. Thomas Jefferson Bowin to Lucinda Shooneway, both of Tuscarora.
- 1844, Novm 27. In Montrose, Mr. Wm. Thompson of Montrose to Miss Betsey Scott¹⁰⁷ of Bridgewater.
- 1845, May 28. In Braintrim, Mr. Leander Hall of the former place to Miss Atta Ruger of Springhill (formerly Tuscarora).
- 1845, Aug 17. In Springhill, Mr. Nelson Overton of Wyahusing to Emeline Baker of Springhill.
- 1845, Novm 13. In Springhill, Mr. Jacob D. Burbanks of Warren to Miss Amy Gray of Braintrim.
- 1846, April 15. Jeroame Green to Mary Black, both of Springhill, Bradford Co.
- 1847, June 12. Elisha Nelson Keeler of Herrick to Betsey Dodge, both of Bradford Co.
- 1847, Decm 22. George W. Elliot of Herrick to Lois Pickett of Rush.
- 1848, April 2. Mr. Zebina E. Sprout of Bridgewater to Miss Mary E. Nichols of Nicholson, Wyoming Co. Pa.
- 1848, Decm 25. E. W. Mead of Bridgewater to Miss E. H. Sanderson of the city of New York.

¹⁰⁷Daughter of Nehemiah and Sarah (Dimock) Scott. Family Records.

- 1849, Jan'y 4. Mr. Richard F. Johnson to Miss Mary E. Wilson, both of Montrose.
- 1849, Jan'y 6. Henry L. Blowers to Miss Urena Brown, both of Franklin.
- 1849, April 19. Jabez Osterman to Miss Amanda C. Smith, both of Bridgewater.
- 1849, June 30. Thomas J. Potter to Miss Aliza A. Watrous, Both of Conklin, N. Y.
- 1849, Decm 31. Mr. Gilbert L. German of Dutchess Co. N. Y. to Miss Lucy Mariah Watrous of Conklin, N. Y.
- 1849, Sept. Artemus Hall to Miss Gage of Silver Lake.
- 1850, May 15. Myron B. Helme of Kingston, Luzerne Co. to Mary E. Backus of Bridgewater.
- 1850, Octb 18. Mr. Isaac DeWitt of Brooklin to Miss Lucy E. Spencer of Tunkhannock.
- 1850, 18th. Elder Jason R. Murphy of Greenwich, Cumberland Co. N. J. to Miss Sophronia Mott of Bridgewater.
- 1851, Jan'y 1. Mr. John Calph to Miss Mary E. Fessenden, both of Montrose.
- 1851, Jan'y 1. Mr. Charles C. Barrett of Jackson to Miss Pheebe Steemback of Gibson
- 1851, May 3. In Bridgewater, Mr. Cyrus Criswell of Mifflin Co. Pa. to Miss Miriam Scott of Bridgewater.
- 1851, Jan'y 10. In Montrose, Mr. William Colwell of New Milford to Miss Lois Roberts of Bridgewater.
- 1852, Jan'y 18. Amos B. Sprout of Lycoming Co., formerly of this Co. to Catharine G. Hinds of Bridgewater.
- 1852, Feby 2. Mr. Charles J. Hollister to Miss Myra S. Tingley, both of Dimock.
- 1852, 10th. In Dimock, Mr. E. G. Baker to Miss Harriet Bolles, both of the former place.
- 1853, Jan'y 6. Mr. Zebulon D. Bullard to Miss Hannah Bisbee, both of Bridgewater.
- 1853, 23d. Mr. William Harding of New Milford to Miss Ceviah Foster of Bridgewater.
- 1853, April 6. William Cox to Anna Mariah Dimock,¹⁰⁸ both of Montrose.
- 1853, April 13. Mr. James Hecox of Springville to Mrs. Nancy M. Sherman of Dimock.
- 1854, Feby 27. Dudson Lathrop to Sarah Dimock¹⁰⁸, both of Montrose.

¹⁰⁸Daughter of Davis Dimock, Jr. Family Records.

- 1855, March 1. Charles Wells of Middletown to Sophrina M. Sprout of Bridgewater.
- 1855, Decm 10. Nathaniel Cottrell of Providence, Luzerne Co. to Mrs. Reed of Binghamton, Broom Co. N. Y.
20th. In Montrose, Mr. F. H. Quick to Miss E. E. Sherer, both of Montrose.
- 1856, Octbr 7. In Montrose, Chester L. Fairbrother of Vestal, N. Y. to Cordelia Lung of Rush, Susq. Co. Pa.
- 1857, Feby 15. In Montrose, Marius Case of Hopbottom Depot to Miss Cinthia Simons of Harford.
- 1857, Sept 10. In Montrose, Mr. Samuel S. Deckay to Lydia Capwell, both of Factoryville, Wyoming Co. Pa.
- 1858, May 25. In Montrose, Wm. L. Allen of Mauch Chunk to Rosania D. Balding of Montrose.
- 1858, June 10. Mr. Franklin B. Tayler of White Haven, Luzerne Co. to Miss Teresa B. Fancher of Montrose.
- 1858, Augt 11. Mr. Chancey W. Mott to Miss Mary H. Dennis, both of Montrose.
In Corbittsville, Mr. Jacob F. McKune of Lanesboro to Miss Abba Curtis of Corbittsville.

EXTRACTS FROM JOURNAL OF REV. DAVIS DIMOCK.

- 1806, Nov. 4. Eld. Jacob Drake died in Dallas
- 1807, Jan. 8. Joined by letter, Lemuel Vorse, Prudence Vorse his wife
- 1807, Jan. 7-10. Samuel Harris, Elunzo Harris and Thomas Miles joined by Baptism at Mahoopany
1807. Betsey Fasset was joined to the Ch. by Baptism in the same place
- 1808, May 15. Baptized Stephen Wilson, John Gardiner, Agnes Hinds
- 1808, Nov. 3. Wait Skinner & Jerusha Miles & Anne Willson & Nancy Burges was joined to the Ch. by Baptism at Mahoopany
1808. Such as are determined to save them and no go back Wait Skinner & wife & her mother Wider Miles & Mr. Burges Mr. Allen & wife. Thomas Miles & wife & Mrs. Willson & N. Burgess & Polly Miles J. Mileses wife Elijah Fasset.
- 1808, July 9. Rachel Vail from the Free Communion Baptist Church in Mt. Pleasant was received. Sabra Gardiner was Baptized by Eld. Dimock.

- 1808, Sept 10. Jacob Roberts who formerly belonged to Baptist Church in Luzerne Co. was received. Baptized Sabra Gardiner
- 1808, April 9. Bridgewater Church organized & Henry Congdon & Asa Baldwin letters from Baptist Church in Salisbury, N. Y.
Jonathan Wheaton of Otsego N. Y. David Knowlton & Samuel Baldwin Baptized by Eld Dimock, Luther Dean of the Braintrim Church
- 1808, April 11. Sister Sarah Congdon from Baptist Church in Salisbury N. Y. Presented her letter Mary Baldwin from same Church was received. Achesah Knowlton from same church was received Betsey Baldwin Baptized by Eld Dimock
- 1808, May 14. Br. Bartlet Hinds from 2nd Baptist Church in Middlebury Mass. was received. Stephen Wilson, Agnes Hinds wife of Bartlet Hinds & John Gardiner Baptized by Elder Dimock
- 1809, Jany 8. John Lovell Ebenezer D. Allen & Laodinah Allen his wife & Rocksina Robartson & Azuba Wind-slow & Polly Skinner joined by Baptism
- 1809, Aug. 12. Chose Br. Luther Dean to office of Deacon on trial. Olive Dean wife of Deacon Luther Dean was received. Mary Carr presented a letter from the Baptist Church of Christ at Stephentown, N. Y. and was received.
- 1810, March 18. Amos Nichols presented a letter from the church at Salisbury N. Y. and was received. Mindwell Nichols his wife presented a letter from the same church and was received Jonathan Vaughn presented his letter from the same church and was received
- 1810, Jan. 14. Abigail Nichols & Lucinda Dean Baptized. Bartlet Hinds Jr
- 1810, Oct. 13. Isaac Peckins and Robert Day baptized
- 1810, Oct. 27. Jeremiah Meacham & Sarah his wife, Rox-anna & Diantha Meacham, Conrad Hinds & Huldah his wife and Nehemiah Scott baptized
- 1810, Sept 2. Elias West and his wife Polly West were baptized also John Bard & Alice his wife and Susanna Post wife of Isaac Post and Jabez Frink
- 1810, Nov. 1. Hannah Harris baptized
- 1810, Nov. 11. David Post Cynthia Peckens & Abinoam Hinds baptized

- 1810, Nov. 18. Samuel Scott Sarah Dimock Isaac Post & Sarah Baldwin baptized
- 1810, Nov. 25. Phineas Warner & Lydia his wife and Lois Baldwin & Rhoda Frink baptized
- 1810, Dec. 2. Joseph B. Grover baptized
- 1810, Dec. 7. David Avery Lucinda Avery Nancy Avery Joanna Passmore & Asa Smith baptized
- 1810, Dec. 19. Ephrian Fansher Anne Porter Almira West baptized Phebe Fansher received by letter from church in Braintrim
- 1810, Dec. 28. Sarah Ransom baptized.
- 1811, Jan. 13. Samuel Bard Daniel Cook & Lydia Hinds baptized
- 1811, Feb. 10. John Bard Jr. Baptized. Henry Jackson & his wife Zuba received by letter from church in Exeter.
- 1811, April 16. Mrs. Stone & Eunice Tupper baptized
- 1811, July 21. Hannah Chapman baptized
- 1811, Sept 14. In Ruby, Samuel Clark, Ichabod Terry Cynthia Agard baptized
1812. My mother died aged 66 years
- 1812, Feby 29. The church met according to previous appointment at the house of Br. Samuel Clarke in Rush Township—opened meeting by prayer—proceeded to business. The brethren and Sisters being agreed they were set apart as a Church in fellowship with us.
- Br. Samuel Clarke
Philo Morehouse
Darius Bixby
Richard Chapman
Wm. Lathrop
Sis Hannah Chapman
Rachel Bixby
Naoma Bixby
Ichabod Terry
- 1812, July 21. At Laportes baptized Elizabeth Lapport and Elinor Voke
- 1812, July 22. At Wyalusing, baptized Rebecca Sherman
- 1812, Aug. 22. Sabara & Anne Smith received from the Baptist Church in Groton.
- 1812, Aug. 22. At Union baptized Esther Platt
- 1812, Novm 17. Baptized James Harding at Br. T. Hardings
- 1812, Novm 14. Preached funeral of Mrs. Wood at Hop-bottom

- 1812, Oct. 11. Baptized Chapman Carr, Sally Vaughn,
Betsey Nemcomb & Simeon Cook
- 1812, Nov. 8. Baptized Samuel Fessenden
17. Baptized Jesse Harding
30. In Union N. Y. Baptized Stephen Platt,
Daniel Platt, Silas Truesdell, Anne his
wife
- 1813, March 7. Baptized Roxanna Brewster, Rese Cook,
& Samuel Backus
- 1813, March 14. Baptized Eunice Backus
- 1813, April 4. Noah Alden received by letter
- 1813, April 5. Thomas Scott died, left a wife and children
- 1813, April 5. Sister Hinds wife of Abinoam Hinds dead
- 1813, April 10. Preached funeral sermon of Sister Hinds
- 1813, April 14. Baptized Eunice Fessenden
- 1813, May 6. My cosin Warner's child is very sick
- 1813, May 8. Warner's child died in afternoon
- 1813, May 10. My wife very ill. It is doubtful case whether
it was the billerous fever or the awful Plague Prevailing
in our parts
- 1813, May 23. Preached funeral sermon of Jonah Brew-
ster's child
- 1813, May 27. Death of Sister Doty in Choconut
- 1813, June 2. The dreadful fever has swept some of my
acquaintances in Tyrannock, Jonathan Smith, Jeremiah
Osterhout, Joseph Boles
- 1813, June 17. We have lived in Bridgewater 4 years to-
day
- 1813, July 6. Preached funeral of Mrs. James Stephens
- 1813, July 9. The Militia Court confirmed the Election of
Capt. A. Hand, Lieut. B. Jones, Ensing S. Webb
- 1813, July 18. Death of Stephen Hyde by the shot of a gun
by Harris Dimock by hunting accident, hunting on the
Sabbath
- 1813, Aug. 19. Baptized Mrs. Sherman
- 1813, Aug. 30. Preached Funeral of Capt. Levi Leonard's
child
- 1813, Sept. 6. Death of Deacon Dean leaves a wife and
7 children
- 1813, Sept. 22. Baptized Mary Stevens
- 1813, Oct. 14. My wife delivered of a fine son
- 1813, Oct 10. Baptized John Backus and wife & Polly
Fishback

- 1813, Oct. 21. Baptized Br. Wm. Lathrop's daughter the wife of Eben Picket
- 1813, Nov. 28. Zebulon Lathrop died
30. Preached funeral sermon of Zebulon Lathrop
- 1813, Dec. 3. Baptized Br. Wm. Lathrop's son William, Br. Sol Dimock's wife at Rush
- 1813, Decm 20. Preached funeral sermon of Br. John Green's father at Harford
- 1814, Jany 4. Death of Mrs. Sally Burnam
5. Preached funeral of Mrs. Sally Burnam.
- 1814, Feb. 25. Preached sermon on death of Br. Amaza Brownson of Auburn
- 1814, March 15. Preached funeral for a child of John Fancher
- 1814, April 1. Heard of death of Lawyer Graham of Wilkes-Barre
- 1814, April 15. Heard of death of Mrs. Huldah Stephens
- 1814, May 23. At Auburn preached funeral for a child of David Avery
- 1814, May 28. Baptized Richard Young & wife
- 1814, July 2. Baptized Mrs. Webb
- 1814, July 6. Preached a sermon upon death of child of Abinoam Hinds
- 1814, July 7. Death of Bartlett Hinds Jr.
- 1814, July 10. Death of Nehemiah Oakley
- 1814, Sept 19. At Choconut Preached a sermon upon death of Mrs. Scoville
- 1814, Sept. 29. At Rush Baptized Mrs. Theda Granger
- 1814, Oct. 19. Preached funeral of Matthias Smith's wife
- 1814, Oct. 30. Heard Mrs. Scott, wife of Samuel Scott is dead
- 1814, Nov. 14. Preached funeral sermon upon death of Mr. Curtis of Hopbottom
- 1814, Nov. 15. Heard of death of Sam'l McCollum from home on a visit
- 1815, Jan. 6. Preached funeral of Br. Sam'l Wilson's child
- 1815, Feb. 9. News of death of Br. Tupper
- 1815, Feb. 28. Death of Mrs. Day wife of Robert Day
- 1815, March 3. Preached funeral of Sister Williams wife of Latham Williams from Conn. at Hopbottom
- 1815, March 6. Br. Alvah Cornwell died, left a wife & several children
- 1815, March 7. Heard of death of Mrs. Palmer

- 1815, March 25. Jedediah Hewitt dead leaving a wife and 6 children and aged parents
1815, April 15. Funeral of Stephen Harding's wife at Harford, a husband & 7 children left
1815, May 20. Baptized Avery Babcock
1815, May 27. I am 39 years old this day
1816, June 4. Mrs. Churchill dead
1815, July 5. Mr. Bingham shot himself, left wife and young child
1815, Sept 23. Preached funeral sermon on death of child of Peter Davis
1815, Sept. 30. Preached funeral of two children of Elisha Griffis, infant twins.
1815, Novm 20. Mrs. Caleb Bush dead aged 51 years.
1815, Novm 20. Preached sermon on death of child of Ezra Congdon of Silver Lake
1815, Novm 22. Preached funeral of Mrs. Austin, left 6 children
1815, Dec. 12. Preached funeral of Mrs. Walbridge
1816, Jany 5. Preached sermon of death of child of Erastus Rathbun, Springville
1816, Feby 15. Preached funeral sermon on death of child of Mr. Backus
1816, Feby 15. Preached a sermon on death of Mrs. Casady, Springville
1816, Feby 28. Preached a sermon on death of child of Capt. Austin Howell
1816, April 10. Death of Capt. Summers
1816, May 27. Baptized Amy Bush wife of Adrian Bush
1816, May 27. This day I am forty years old
1816, June 17. Preached funeral sermon of Nathan Michal New Milford
1816, June 18. Funeral of child of Jason Fargo, Auburn
1816, July 3. Preached sermon on death of old Mrs. Downing
1816, July 9. Old Mr. Davis Reynolds buried
1816, July 17. Preached funeral sermon for Mrs. Denison in Silver Lake, lately come from Conn.
1816, Sept 4. Baptized Ruth Sherman & her niece
1816, Sept 13. Baptized Jeremiah Meacham Jr.
1816, Novm 8. At Mr. Main's preached funeral sermon on death of his wife's son who died in Ohio
1816, Novm 10. Baptized Miss Harriet Conner at New Milford

- 1816, Novm 29. Baptized Joshua Smith and wife and Mrs. Brown
- 1816, Dec. 6. Death of Lydia Owen
- 1816, Dec. 8. Preached funeral of Lydia Owen in Chocconut
- 1816, Decm 9. James Rose's wife died at one o'clock Mrs. Isabella Rose at Choconut
- 1817, Jan. 3. Funeral of Mrs. Sherer
- 1817, Jan. 18. my father and stepmother came to live with me
- 1817, Jany 19. Elihu Rogers died
- 1817, Jany 24. Preached funeral of Mrs. Ellicott, Choconut
- 1817, Feby 5. Preached funeral of Mrs. Shipman, wife of Nathan Shipman
- 1817, March 7. at Chenango funeral of Judge Patterson
- 1817, March 15. Walter Lathrop died
- 1817, March 24. Went to Clifford to see my brother David who has been gone more than ten years
- 1817, April 7. Preached sermon on death of Mrs. Gregory lately arrived in the country aged 35
- 1818, Feby 20. Went to Elmira with my wife to William Baldwins. Went to William Jenkins found Mrs. Baldwin grandmother to my wife alive and all her friends well. Visited at Newtown at Wm. Maxwell's his wife cousin to Mrs. Dimock, her father was Wm. Baldwin
- 1818, Feby 24. Funeral of old Mr. Frink
- 1818, March 28. Preached funeral of Mrs. Wells, daughter of Mrs. Price
- 1818, April 1. Mr. Price died
- 1818, April 4. Took the oath of Capt. Joseph Chapman, Capt. Eli Catlin and Lieut. David Dimock Revolutionary officers for whom the Congress has made provision
- 1818, May 25. Preached funeral of John Blasdell's wife
- 1818, Sept. 2. Preached funeral of Levi Agard
- 1818, Sept. 19. Preached funeral of old Mrs. Brewster, wife of Nathan Brewster
- 1818, Oct. — Preached funeral of E. Mills wife
- 1819, Jany 6. Mary Dimock my daughter died ae 9 yrs and 9 mos.
- 1819, Feby 10. Chapman Carr and daughter died
- 1819, Feby 17. Amy daughter of Eli Gregory died
17. Susanna, daughter of Isaac Post died
10. George, son of Dr. Mason Denison died

- 11. Mrs. Jerusha Lyons wife of Nathan H. Lyons died
- 11. Lydia Harding Burrows, wife of Ariel Burrows, died
- 24. Robert Bard, son of John Bard, died
- 1819, March 28. Wm. son of J. Bard dead
- 1819, April 9. Preached funeral of J. Bards child, the 3d son which he has lost this spring
- 1919, April. Death of Daniel Coon, son of Mrs. Olive Dean
- 1819, April 21. Mrs. Eaton a young woman buried
- 1819, May 1. Mrs. Isa Bliss, wife of Mr. Harris Bliss offered herself a candidate for Baptism
- 1819, May 2. Wealthy, daughter of Amos Burrows, dead
- 1819, May 7. Esquire Raynsford's mother and Beza Bliss died
- 1819, June 5. Went to Waterford preached the funeral of Mr. Allen Lawrence & wife
- 1819, June 7. Phebe Daniels dead.
- 1819, June 8. Preached funeral of Phebe, daughter of Richard Daniels ae 17
- 1819, June 20. Baptized Anne Peckins
- 1819, July 14. Preached funeral of Peggy Bowman
- 1819, July 16. Preached the funeral of Erastus Catlin's daughter Julia
- 1819, July 18. Baptized John D. Bauner, a young man from Ohio
- 1819, July 21. Steven Hinds child is dead
- 1819, July 30. Polly Baldwin, daughter of Asa Baldwin is dead.
- 1819, Aug. 9. Preached at Nicholas Overfields and baptized Mrs. Lydia Overfield
- 1819, Aug 12. Asa Baldwin died while I was absent (in Braintrim)
- 1819, Aug. 15. Baptized Wm. Parker & Hannah Harris
- 1819, Aug. 16. Preached the funeral of Mr. Moses child in the village
- 1819, Aug. 18. Death of Mr. Maderson's child
- 1819, Aug. 20. Preached the funeral of the child of Mr. Rowleys at E. Griffises
- 1819, Aug. 21. Baptized Mrs. Mott wife of Elihu Mott

- 1819, Aug. 22. Preached the funeral of Mr. E. Miller, a young man in the village
- 1819, Aug. 25. Went to Springville and preached the funeral of Salmon Thomas' child
- 1819, Aug. 29. Baptized Sabary Wilson wife of David Wilson
- 1819, Oct. 2. Baptized Hyrem Lathrop in Braintrim
- 1819, Oct. 9. Maria Avery, daughter of Asahel Avery dead ae 18 years
- 1819, Oct. 9. Attended Covenant Meeting, Mrs. Cheever and George Case joined by letter
- 1819, Oct. 13. Preached the funeral of I. Taylor's child
- 1819, Oct. 16. Preached the funeral of Mr. Harding
- 1819, Nov. 8. Preached funeral of Polly Brewster, daughter of Jonah Brewster
- 1819, Nov. 14. At Choconut Baptized Harris Bliss
- 1819, Nov. 29. Death of Mrs. Lyon in village. (Rebecca, wife of Daniel Lyon.)
- 1819, Dec. 29. My Daughter S. Scott had another son in my absence
- 1820, Jan. 15. Heard of the death of my neighbor, Benj. Waterous
- 1820, May 19. Went to Wyalusing Br. I. Black's and baptized Nancy his daughter
- 1820, May 22. Preached at Br. D. Lakes and Baptized three Mrs. Preston & Jutson Bemon & wife
- 1820, June 10. Mrs. Fanny Bard told her experience and was a candidate for Baptism
- 1820, June 20. At Choconut Baptized Sarah Fairbrother
- 1820, July 3. Came home and found Father Harding and wife at my house on a visit. They brought Mahala Harding to go to school here—at the Academy
- 1820, July 10. Robert Caswell drowned on the morning of the 9th
- 1820, Aug. 20. Baptized Capt. Nicherson
20. Heard of the death of Br. D. Chalker
- 1820, Aug. 21. Baptized the wife of Br. D. Chalker
- 1820, Aug. 22. Preached the funeral of Mr. Sam Warner's child William who was killed by the overturning of a cart

- 1820, Sept. 2. Heard of death of Mrs. Crumpton an English lady
- 1820, Sept. 11. I started for Plymouth. took my daughter Lydia and Mahala Harding along as far as J. Hardings
- 1820, Sept. 20. Preached at Salmon Thomas' and baptized his wife
- 1820, Sept. 25. Mr. Gibbs in the village dead at 7 p. m.
- 1820, Decm 9. Baptized Wm. Thompson an Englishman
- 1820, Dec. 23. Preached the funeral of Julia Stevens child
- 1821, Jan. 10. Death of Mrs. Cannon
- 1821, Jan. 21. Baptized N. Lacey's wife
- 1821, Feb. 26. Mrs. Dimock has a fine son
- 1821, March 5. Went to Choconut & preached the funeral of Br. Bart Scovill his own parents and the Parents of both his wives were present two children by his first wife and two by his second were left to suffer his loss
- 1821, March 8. preached the funeral of Mr. Wilder's child of six years old
- 1821, March 10. Named my babe Gordon Zebina
- 1821, April 7. Mrs. Messenger dead
- 1821, April 10. Went to Middletown and preached the funeral of Sister Mott wife of Orange Mott
- 1821, June 23. Br. Corse dead and Mrs. Burgess
- 1821, June 1. Asa Dimock's wife has a son yesterday
- 1821, June 10. Baptized Polly Baldwin
- 1821, June 22. Mrs. Warner died suddenly in the night having left 9 children one three weeks old
- 1821, July. Preached at John Wilcox's on the occasion of his Baptism
- 1821, July 11. Baptized the widow Barker
- 1821, July 14. Preached the funeral of the child of Salmon Thomas
- 1821, July 14. Preached the funeral of Mrs. Gibbs, Waterford
- 1821, July 18. At the Apalycking Creek Baptized John Fessenden & wife
- 1821, Aug. 4. Went to Auburn and preached the funeral of Mr. Gregory's child
- 1821, Aug. 10. Mr. Ezra Burrows a Presbyterian joined our Church and Samuel Baldwin was a candidate for Baptism

- 1821, Sept. 2. Baptized Sam'l Scott Luther Dean and
Jemima Bump
- 1821, Sept. 16. Edmond West was a candidate for Baptism
- 1821, Nov. 8. Baptized Jesse Sherman
- 1821, Nov. 13. Baptized Pamela Dean and Sally Holdridge
- 1821, Dec. 7. Capt. J. Stevens dead
- 1821, Dec. 10. P. Stevens came to see me about the will of
his father
- 1821, Dec. 12. Cosin Eliphelet Smith came to see me
- 1821, Dec. 13. Visited Cosin A. Dimock at Exeter
- 1822, Feb. 12. Benjamin's wife had a son at Evening
- 1822, March 15. Mrs. Snow was buried yesterday and Mr.
Wilber dead
- 1822, April 3. Sarah Scott my daughter has a daughter
- 1822, April 4. Attended the funeral of Wm. Bard, father
of Br. John Bard
- 1822, April 25. Went to Waterford and preached the fun-
eral of Isaac Smith's Child
- 1822, May 18. Went to Choconut and preached the funeral
of Benja. Chamberlin
- 1822, May 20. Mr. Wm. Woodhouse died left wife and 7
children
- 1822, May 29. At Choconut baptized W. Wilcox and wife
- 1822, June 2. Baptized Mr. S. Webb & Mrs. Converss
- 1822, June 8. Mrs. Allen and daughter joined the church
- 1822, June 17th. Preached the funeral of J. Sherman's
wife
- 1822, June 28. Baptized Adrian Bush Susanna Bush and
Jesse Shermans wife
- 1822, July 14. At Tyrannock baptized George Harding
and wife
- 1822, July 15. Preached the funeral of J. Lyon's child
- 1822, Aug. 2. Preached the funeral of John Doolittle
- 1822, Aug. 4. Death of Sister Hannah Harris, a widow
- 1822, Aug. 5. Preached the funeral of Sister Hannah
Harris
- 1822, Aug. 11. Attended funeral of J. Lyons child
- 1822, Aug. 16. Preached the funeral of D. Osterhout's
daughter
- 1822, Aug. 22. Ethan Nicherson dead
- 1822, Aug. 23. Preached the funeral of Mr. E. N. Left a
wife and 2 children. In 26th year of age

- 1822, Aug. 29. Preached the funeral of R. Reynold's child
1822, Sept. 21. Preached a sermon on death of Mrs. Ramsey who died at the Western countries. She was the daughter of L. Kallum
1822, Sept. 22. Baptized a son of Br. Platt in Choconut
1822, Oct. 11. Br. B. Hinds dead
13. Preached the funeral of Br. B. Hinds
1822, Oct. 19. Preached the funeral of Sister Mary Mead
1822, Oct. 22. In Springville preached a lecture at Br. Hinert's on death of his son Israel
1822, Oct. 24. In Waterford Preached a lecture on death of 2 of Br. Smith's Children
1822, Oct. 25. Funeral of Mrs. Perkins in Silver Lake
1822, Nov. 4. Attended funeral of F. Steven's child
1822, Nov. 6. Mr. C. Bush dead
1822, Nov. 7. Preached the funeral of Jonas Fuller's wife
1822, Nov. 8. Preached the funeral of Mr. C. Bush
1822, Nov. 11. Preached the funeral of Mr. Clark in Midletown
1822, Nov. 24. Mr. Kullam brother to my stepmother came to see us
1822, Nov. 28. Br. — Southerland's child dead
1823, Jan. 17. Preached funeral of Mr. J. Vaughn's child
1823, Feb. 17. Visited at S. Warner's his two brothers David & Timothy there
1823, March 9. Rufus Bowman died in village
1823, March 10. Preached funeral of Mr. Bowman
1823, March 14. Attended funeral of Ira Curtis's child
1823, March 26. Attended funeral of B. T. Case's child
1823, March 27. Death of old Mr. E. Main
1823, March 29. Preached funeral of old Mr. N. Main
1823, April 2. Preached the funeral of L. Cornwell's wife Midletown
1823, April 8. Death of Mrs. Hill (James W.)
1823, May 4. Baptized wife of Merrit Mott
1823, May 9. Preached the funeral of Harry Curtis child
1823, May 8. My daughter Sarah came to visit
1823, May 14. Preached the funeral of C. Hatch's wife (Sylvia) Great Bend
1823, May 17. Funeral of old Mrs. Blasdell in Midletown

- 1823, May 27. Heard of death of Mrs. Allen in Midletown
1823, May 29. Preached the funeral of Br. Gard's child
1823, May 30. Baptized T. Cox's wife in Midletown
1823, July 7. Mr. Eldred dead
1823, Aug. 12. Attended funeral of James Stevens child
1823, Aug. 13. Attended funeral of Erastus Catlin's child
1823, Aug. 20. Father Harding and Mother Harding was at my house
1823, Aug. 21. Ozam Cook died
1823, Aug. 24. Baptized Thersa Whitely
1823, Aug. 25. Preached the funeral of Mr. S. Tracy
1823, Sept. 6. Preached funeral of Mrs. Peck
1823, Sept. 26. Preached the funeral of Sister Lydia Thayre
1823, Sept. 30. At Springville Baptized Mrs. Newman
1823, Oct. 13. Betsey Avery has a daughter
1823, Oct. 22. Baptized Mrs. Dimond (C) and her daughter Amie
1823, Nov. 2. At Great Bend Baptized the wife of Brown Newman
1823, Dec. 18. Preached the funeral of Peter Davis
1823, Dec. 29. Preached the funeral of Mrs. Russel
1824, March 11. Preached the funeral of Mr. Vaughn's child
1824, March 17. Heard of death of Old Mrs. Curtis
1824, March 18. Preached the funeral of old Mrs. Curtis
1824, March 18. Death of George Waggoner at village
1824, March 19. Funeral of George Waggoner
1824, March 21. Baptized at Great Bend William Heart and wife
1824, March 29. Preached the funeral of Daniel Curtis' infant child
1824, May 7. S. Scott has a daughter
1824, May 12. Murder of Oliver Harper in Harmony Township
1824, May 12. Preached the funeral of Susannah Hewitt, daughter of Br. Hewitt Springville
1824, June 9. Preached the funeral of old Mrs. Eldridge
1824, June 9. Preached the funeral of the child of Mr. Bowen

- 1824, June 23. Preached the funeral of the widow Garnsey's child about 6 years old
- 1824, June 29. Preached the funeral of Harriet Rockwood, a young woman
- 1824, July 11. Funeral of old Mrs. Hall 2 miles below Great Bend
- 1824, July 18. Baptized Ackley Brownson
- 1824, July 29. At Hopbottom Baptized 2 of Sister Merritt's children, one about 17 and the other 15
- 1824, Aug. 10. P. Warner expired about 6
- 1824, Aug. 11. Preached the funeral of P. Warner
- 1824, Oct. 11. Preached the funeral of Susanna Lathrop, Springville
- 1824, Oct. 20. Preached the funeral of Luther Catlin's child
- 1824, Oct. 21. Had all my children & grandchildren & father and stepmother on a visit. I had 9 children 8 grandchildren 2 law sons and law daughter my own father and step mother one nephew & his wife & three children of his own niece & one 3d cosin & his wife I was 48 years old 27 last May my father 79 22 last Aug.
- 1824, Nov. 29. Preached the funeral of Mr. Kenards son
- 1826, May 30. Twelve weeks ago the funeral of infant child of Myron Lindsley. Amherst Lindsley father of Myron belonged to a Baptist church in the State of New York
- 1826, May 30. My daughter Betsey who married Hubbard Avery was baptized.
- 1st Lords day in May, the 7th Baptized Isreal Reynolds & His wife Betsey, Isreal Gregory and his wife Lovina Rockwell.
- The 2nd Baptism on the 21st May: John Reynolds & his wife Waterman (Bald-iwn? E. M. B.) & his wife, Reuben Reynolds's wife John Lindsley Beriah Meacham Mrs. Carr Peter Rese—Lindsley — Grigory — Gard & wife joined by letter Amherst Lindsley & wife joined by letter some time ago
- 1826, June 11. Funeral of Mr. Hogsdon

- 1830, May 27. This day I am 54 years old, and altho I have been a member of the Baptist Church ever since the 16th of August 1801 on which day I was Baptized and on the 20th of August 1803 I was ordained to the work of the ministry in Exeter, Luzerne Co., etc.
- 1830, May 30. Preached the funeral of Mrs. Jeremia Cox who died suddenly and was buried without a sermon being preached at the time
- 1831, July 30. Betsey the wife of Benjamin Jenkins dead
- 1831, April 1. At Jackson the father of Elder Leonard dead
- 1831, Sept. 25. Two of my children Lydia C. Dimock & Asa G. Dimock Baptized
- 1831, Nov. 6. Baptized Mrs. Maryanne Warner, daughter of Joshua W. Raynsford Esq. of this village, an Episcopalian & of great influence in that Society
- 1832, Feb. 14. My father expired at 35 minutes past five
- 1832, Oct. 9. After the death of my father my step-mother desired to go & live with her son Asa Stanton at Exeter, Luzerne Co.
- 1832, Dec. 31. Preached funeral of Mr. Simeon Tyler Jrs. child
- 1833, May 27. This day I am 57 years old
- 1833, Aug. 12. Preached funeral of Orrin Steven's child 7 years old
- 1833, Aug. 19. Preached funeral sermon of Miss Octavia Pinkney
- 1833, Sept. 13. Attended funeral of Rev. Mr. Peck's child a girl 9 years of age. He lost his wife but a few weeks ago
- 1833, Oct. 13. Preached funeral of Joseph Backus' wife
- 1834, Feby 16. Preached funeral of William only son of Bela Jones aged 8 years
- 1834, April 6. Funeral of Maj. Sterling's father in Braintrim. He was about 90 years
- 1834, April 19. Funeral of Agnes Hinds, relict of Bartlet Hinds
- 1835, April 19. Funeral of Sister Olive Dean widow of Deacon Luther Dean, daughter of Eld. Samuel Sturdevant, ae 64
- 1835, April. Death of Sister Sabra Young wife of David & daughter of Joshua Smith an early settler of Dimock

- 1835, April. Funeral of Elias West Jr. ae 26 years
1836, July 27. In Montrose funeral of Br. Stephen Webb
1836, Aug. 18. Death of my son-in-law H. Avery
20. Funeral of H. Avery
1837, March 12. At Clark's settlement & preached funeral
of old Mrs. Reynolds
1837, March 21. Preached funeral of Daniel Haverly at
Braintrim
1837, April 23. Baptized Sarah Green, Braintrim
1837, June 22. Preached funeral of Br. S. Lake's infant
child
1837, July 8. At Terrytown preached a funeral sermon for
a child of Jason Horton
1837, July 29. Preached a sermon on death of old sister
Fairbrother
1837, Aug. 12. Baptized Mrs. Ezra Keeney
1837, Aug. 29. Preached funeral sermon of Samuel Ackley
Brownson
1838, May 28. Baptized Clarissa Gray
1838, June 5. Preached funeral of Miss Harris in Rush
1837, June 6. Preached funeral of Wheeler Baxter in
Montrose
1839, April 24. Preached funeral of Br. Noah Baldwin's
child
1841, Jany 23. Preached the funeral of H. N. Champion,
Esq.
1841, Feby 9. Preached the funeral of Wm. Clark's widow
up Tuscarora Creek
1842, Jany 13. Davis Dimock Jr. died at 2 o'clock 35
minutes
1847, Jan. 30th. Preached the funeral of Br. D. P. Lacy
1847, Sept. 7. Braintrim Preached the funeral of Sister
Mariah Lacy
1847, Sept. 16. Visited at Harpersville to L. Badger's my
son in law
1848, Jany 22. Funeral of Sister Fanny Tukesbury at
Brooklin
1849, Jan 1. My son John lost his only daughter
1849, April 6. New Milford death of old Br. Moxley
1849, April 20. Funeral of Hiram Mott, Midletown

- 1849, April 20. Sister Dimock Warner dead
1849, May 27. This day I am seventy three years old
1852, Feb. 20. Old sister Peckins one of the first settlers in this town was buried, and a few weeks ago Br. Bard one of the first settlers & an early convert & member of the church (Baptist) was buried
Old Sister Southerland died last September
1852, Oct. 5. Started for Wilkes-Barre with my daughter Sally Scott to attend the Wyoming Assn. Arrived there on the 6th having stayed at John Baldings who married my wife's sister
1852, Oct. Went to Browntown to stay at John & William Hardings, nephews of my wife
1852, Oct. 8. Went to Waymark and stayed at Eatons who married a grand daughter of my Brother Asa
1852, Oct. 9. Went to Betsey Dimock's my son Benja. widow. She is a remarkable woman having done wonders in supporting & educating her six children, seeing she was left in poor circumstances Visited at Mr. Congers who married a niece of my brother Asa's and returned to Waymark to Asa Dimock's nephew of my Brother Asa
1852, Oct. 12. Went as far as Hicock to Shobal Dimock's my brother's son
1852, Dec. 1. At 3 o'clock Mrs. Dimock died. (His wife Betsey Jenkins E. M. B.)
1852, Dec. 8. Br. Isaac Gray buried his youngest child
1852, Dec. 14. Old Mrs. Street died — has left an only daughter Mariah — She has one brother at Owego

MEMBERS WHO HAVE DIED SINCE THE ISSUING OF VOLUME XV.

BENEFACTORS.

*Edward Welles, March 19, 1914.

Mrs. Sara (Nesbitt) Smythe, January 4, 1919.

Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden, A. M., August 22, 1917.

LIFE MEMBERS.

Joseph John Schooley, April 24, 1918.

Forrest Garrison Stevens, December 18, 1918.

ANNUAL MEMBERS.

*John J. Hines, November 13, 1917.

William Romaine Stull, April 19, 1918.

Dr. William O. Bunnell, April 20, 1918.

Col. William J. Scott, September, 1918.

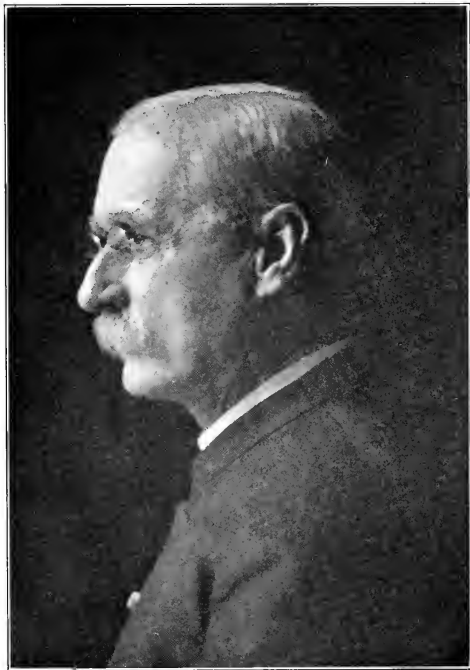
Arthur Hillman, October 9, 1918.

Col. Robert Bruce Ricketts, November 13, 1918.

Mrs. Elizabeth (Reynolds) Ricketts, Nov. 19, 1918.

Oscar M. Lance, February 1, 1919.

*Not previously noted.



REV. HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

DECEASED MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY.

BY OSCAR J. HARVEY, Historiographer.

THE REV. HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN, A. M.,

elected a Life Member ("Benefactor") in 1899, was born at Catonsville, Baltimore County, Maryland, February 18, 1837, and died August 22, 1917, at his home in Wilkes-Barré, where he had lived for nearly thirty-eight years. He was the third son of the seven children of Edwin Parsons Hayden (1811-1850) and his wife Elizabeth Hause (1810-1887). The father of Edwin Parsons Hayden was Horace H. Hayden, M. D., D. D. S., a native of Windsor, Connecticut, where, at the time of his birth, the Hayden family had been located for more than a century.

In 1800, at the age of thirty-one years, Horace H. Hayden settled at Baltimore, Maryland, where he engaged in the study of dentistry and in 1802 began its practise. He also became a student of medicine and geology. During the War of 1812 he was engaged for a time in the military service of his country as a non-commissioned officer of the 39th Regiment, Maryland Militia. In 1821 he published a volume of "Geological Essays". In 1840 he was associated with others in founding the Baltimore College of Dental Surgeons—said to be the first dental college to be established in the United States—and served as President of the institution, and Professor of Pathology, until his death at Baltimore in January, 1844. He received the honorary degree of Doctor of Medicine from the University of Maryland, and also from Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia.

Horace Edwin Hayden, the subject of this sketch, removed in 1840, with the other members of his father's family, from Baltimore County to Howard County, Maryland, where he continued to reside until 1857, when he became a student at Kenyon College, Ohio. Two years later he left college to engage in teaching school, and was thus employed when the American Civil War broke out.

June 1, 1861, he enlisted in a company of Howard County cavalry, organized to serve in the Confederate army. Subsequently this company became a part of the cavalry regiment commanded by Col. J. E. B. Stuart, C. S. A. Mr. Hayden remained in the Confederate military service, in one capacity and another, until December 31, 1864, when he was honorably discharged. Thereupon he entered the Virginia Theological Seminary, in order to prepare for ordination into the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Having completed his studies and been graduated, he was ordained Deacon in June, 1867, and Priest in August, 1868. Some years later the honorary degree of Master of Arts was conferred upon him by Kenyon College.

Mr. Hayden served as Rector of Christ Church, Point Pleasant, West Virginia, from 1867 till 1873, and then became Rector of St. John's Protestant Episcopal Church at West Brownsville, Fayette County, Pennsylvania, where he labored faithfully and earnestly until November 1, 1879. On that date he assumed the position and duties of Assistant Minister of St. Stephen's Protestant Episcopal Church, Wilkes-Barré, and in this work he continued until his death. During this period of nearly thirty-eight years he preached at one time and another, and performed other duties incident to his office, to and for congregations in Ashley, Plymouth, Laurel Run and South Wilkes-Barré, organized and working as missions under the direction and fostering care of St. Stephen's Church.

His chiefest and greatest work, however, during this period (in the opinion of the present writer, who knew him intimately and well during the time of his residence in Wilkes-Barré), was that which he performed as a member and an officer of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. He became a member of the Society within a year or two after locating in Wilkes-Barré, and in 1881 was elected its Curator of Numismatics. This office he held continuously, by successive re-elections, until his death.

He was a member of the Publishing Committee of the Society in 1893, 1899-1901, and 1904-1917. In February, 1894, he was elected Corresponding Secretary, in which office he was continued until his death. In February, 1896, he was elected Assistant Librarian, and served as such until February, 1900, when he was elected Librarian. This office he filled until his death.

In addition to the multifarious duties incident to these several offices, he did the work of the Historiographer of the Society for nearly ten years prior to February, 1913. In 1899 he became a Life Member of the Society—being enrolled in the list of its "Benefactors" by reason of his having created, "with much self-denial and labor," the "Horace E. Hayden Fund for Geological Lectures", amounting to \$1,500.

He was indefatigable in his exertions, unswerving in his loyalty, and enthusiastic and optimistic with respect to all matters relating to the welfare and advancement of the Society; and after the present building of the Society was opened in November, 1893, he spent the greater part of his week-days there. Unquestionably, in the present writer's judgment, he did more, by the unselfish devotion of his abilities and efforts, for the upbuilding of the Society and its progress to the present high place which it deservedly occupies, than any other person identified with it at any time in its history.

During his connection with the Society Mr. Hayden prepared a number of articles and pamphlets on historical, biographical and genealogical subjects, nearly all of which were published under the auspices of the Society. In 1891, after laborious investigations extending through a number of years, he published in his own behalf an important work entitled: "Virginia Genealogies. A Genealogy of the Glassell Family of Scotland and Virginia; also of the Families of Ball, Brown, Bryan, and others, of Virginia and Maryland."

This work is contained in a large 8vo volume of nearly 800 pages, illustrated by portraits and enriched by copies of early wills, and letters and documents of the Revolutionary period. It contains biographical sketches replete with original data never before used, gleaned chiefly from old Parish, County and State records. "The entire work," wrote Dr. William H. Egle (State Librarian of Pennsylvania at the time of its publication), "is an enduring monument to Mr. Hayden's patient industry and conscientious research—a volume to be referred to and quoted in all time, whenever inquiry is to be made as to the history of the Old Dominion. If congratulations are in order, the people of that State should be greatly complimented and honored that

such a faithful historian as Mr. Hayden has performed such a noble duty for them and theirs." Copies of "Virginia Genealogies" may be found in the leading public libraries of the country.

Mr. Hayden was Secretary and one of the Vice Presidents of the Luzerne County Humane Association in 1894, Secretary from 1895 till 1898, President in 1899, and a member of the Association's Board of Managers from 1902 till 1908—and probably later. He was one of the Vice Presidents of the Wyoming Commemorative Association from 1900 until his death. He was a member of the Southern Historical Society, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, The New England Historic Genealogical Society, the Historical Societies of Maryland, Virginia and Georgia, and of various other historical and scientific societies.

He was also a member of the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution (instituted in 1888), and was a member of its Board of Managers from 1891 till 1899 at least. He early became a member of The Society of Colonial Wars in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, chartered in 1893, and was the first Chaplain of the Pennsylvania Commandery of the Naval Order of the United States, organized in 1894. He was a member of the Society of the War of 1812 (serving as its Historian for a number of years) and of the Delaware State Society of the Cincinnati; also of the Society of the Army and Navy, C. S. A., in Maryland. He became a member of the Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons in 1863, being initiated into Lodge No. 10 at Richmond, Virginia. Upon locating at Brownsville, Pennsylvania, he became affiliated with Brownsville Lodge, No. 60, and continued a member thereof until his death.

Mr. Hayden was married November 30, 1868, at Point Pleasant, West Virginia, to Kate Elizabeth Byers, daughter of John A. and Charlotte M. (Davis) Byers of Hancock, Maryland, and at his death he was survived by his wife and one son—a daughter having died in early childhood in 1879. At the time of his death the Vestry of St. Stephen's Church took the following action:

"With sincerest sorrow the Vestry records the death, on August 22, 1917, of the Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden at the ripe age of eighty years, whereof almost forty were spent in the service of St. Stephen's.

"Coming to this Parish in 1879 he became the valued and indispensable assistant of our late Rector, Dr. Henry L. Jones—particularly in the work of our connected missions. We can pronounce no higher eulogy on him than to say that between these two devoted servants of God and man there always existed the warmest intimacy, confidence and affection.

"Mr. Hayden was a man of intense convictions—the fruit of large learning and thinking in all matters ethical, theological, political and historical. In the field of history his attainments were remarkable, and along the special lines of local and family knowledge he was a recognized authority. His marked taste and talent for antiquarian and genealogical research proved to be invaluable assets for The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, which, under his inspiring guidance, grew from a mere storeroom of dusty relics into the present splendid institution.

"His fine scholarship was crowned with a character of ascetic virtue and devoutest piety. His life was an open book, known and read of all men. There was nothing to conceal in thought, word or deed.

"We will all miss his familiar, energetic figure and cordial greeting. His death came in the fullness of time and years, when the poor body was worn out in the service, but it leaves an aching void in the small family group of which he was the head, and to whom—wife and son—in their bereavement, our hearts go forth in loving sympathy."

The following preamble and resolutions were adopted by the Trustees of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society a few days after the death of Mr. Hayden:

"The death of the Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden on August 22nd last, at the ripe age of eighty years, took from this community a citizen respected and loved by all who knew him; but his loss to The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society is well nigh irreparable, for in him was the unusual combination of requisite scientific knowledge, practical business ability and boundless enthusiasm.

"His official title in the organization was that of Corresponding Secretary and Librarian, but this title did not indicate the scope of his activities. Under his management the Society has grown from a small museum of local antiquities

to a foremost place among the Historical and Geological Societies in the country, with a valuable reference library of 17,664 volumes on History, Geology, Genealogy and Ethnology, with many Government publications, and bound volumes of local newspapers.

"Not only was he an authority on local history, geology, genealogy, numismatics and other lines of research relating to the past, but he was ever alert to the present needs of the Society, securing new members, enriching its collections, adding to the endowment fund, and securing lecturers on interesting topics. He was in daily attendance at its quarters, with a cordial greeting to visitors, ever ready to exhibit, to explain, or to assist in any investigation or research they came to make among its treasures.

"The annual volumes of Proceedings of the Society which he published are an enduring monument to his zeal and industry.

"As Assistant Rector of St. Stephen's Episcopal Church of Wilkes-Barré he was widely known in this and neighboring parishes, where he was an indefatigable worker in Church matters.

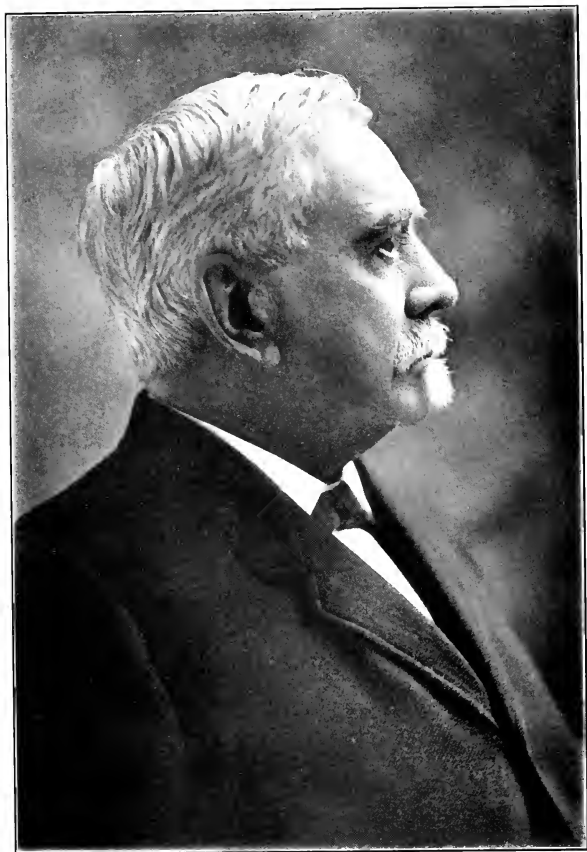
"His manner was cheery and brisk. His temperament was optimistic and enthusiastic, and he inspired enthusiasm in others. Even in old age and failing health his indomitable will drove him on in tasks that would have daunted a younger man.

"He served through the greater part of the Civil War in the Confederate Army.

"He was a member of many Historical, Scientific and Patriotic Societies, and well known throughout the country as an authority in such matters.

"*Resolved*, That The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society record the death of Mr. Hayden with sincere sorrow; with a sense of deep appreciation of his services in life, and of their loss by his death; and

"*Resolved*, That we express our sincere sympathy with the members of his family by publication of these resolutions in the daily papers and by sending a copy to Mrs. Hayden and his son, Horace Edwin Hayden, Jr."



COL. ROBERT BRUCE RICKETTS

**COL. ROBERT BRUCE RICKETTS AND HIS WIFE,
ELIZABETH (REYNOLDS) RICKETTS.**

Robert Bruce Ricketts was born at Orangeville, Columbia County, Pennsylvania, April 29, 1839, the fifth son of Elijah Green and Margaret (Lockhart) Ricketts. Elijah G. Ricketts was the son of Edward Ricketts (born in 1759) of Scottish descent, who in 1781 was a Lieutenant in Capt. John Spencer's Company of the Second Battalion of Bedford County, Pennsylvania Militia, commanded by Col. Hugh Davidson.

Robert Bruce Ricketts was studying for admission to the Bar when, in the Spring of 1861, the American Civil War broke out; but soon after the beginning of hostilities he quit his law studies (never to resume them again) and enlisted for a term of three years for service in the Union army as a private in Battery F (commanded by Capt. Ezra W. Matthews) of the 1st Pennsylvania Light Artillery (the 43d Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers). He was mustered into service July 8, 1861, and on the fifth of the following month was promoted and commissioned First Lieutenant of Battery F. The 1st Pennsylvania Light Artillery was organized at Harrisburg, being commanded by Col. Charles T. Campbell, and early in August, 1861, the regiment was ordered to Washington, where it went into camp near the United States Arsenal. There it was completely armed and equipped, and a few weeks later the several batteries of the regiment were separated and assigned to different divisions and corps of the army, and were never again united as a regiment. Battery F proceeded on September 12, 1861, to Darnestown, Maryland, where it was attached to the 5th Corps (commanded by Gen. N. P. Banks) of the Army of the Potomac.

Lieutenant Ricketts, in command of his section of the battery, was under fire for the first time on December 20, 1861, in an engagement with a body of the enemy on the upper Potomac. Early in January, 1863, Battery F—having been previously assigned to the 2d Division of the 1st Corps, Army of the Potomac—was assigned to the 3d Division of that corps, at which time Lieutenant Ricketts was in actual command of the battery, which had come to be known as "Ricketts' Battery". Under date of February 23, 1863, Brig.

Gen. Henry J. Hunt, Chief of Artillery of the Army of the Potomac, communicated to the artillery commander of the 1st Corps the following: "None of your batteries are in bad order—the only corps so reported. The batteries in the *best* order are Reynolds' 'L', 1st New York, Ricketts' 'F', 1st Pennsylvania, and Lepperne's 5th Maine."

Captain Matthews of Battery F was promoted Major March 14, 1863, and on the 8th of the following May Lieutenant Ricketts was promoted Captain. As stated above, he was already in command of Battery F. Three weeks later Battery G of the 1st Pennsylvania Artillery was attached to Battery F—Captain Ricketts assuming command of the consolidated batteries, comprising three commissioned officers and 141 non-commissioned officers and privates.

As thus constituted the organization was commonly denominated "Ricketts' Battery", and it formed a part of the "Artillery Reserve" of the Army of the Potomac. This "Reserve" (commanded on June 1, 1863, by Brig. Gen. R. O. Tyler) was composed of one brigade of Regulars and three brigades of Volunteers. "Ricketts' Battery" was a part of the "3d Volunteer Brigade", commanded by Capt. James F. Huntington of the 1st Ohio Light Artillery.

Ricketts' Battery performed very noteworthy services at the battle of Gettysburg. On the second day of the battle (July 2, 1863) the battery occupied an exposed position on East Cemetery Hill, which Captain Ricketts was ordered to hold at all hazards. Battery I (commanded by Capt. Michael Wiedrick) of the 1st New York Light Artillery, attached to the Artillery Brigade of the 3d Division of the 11th Corps, was on Ricketts' right, while on his left was a battery of Rhode Island Light Artillery.

In the midst of the general action late in the afternoon of the second day, the famous Confederate brigade commanded by Brig. Gen. H. S. Hays, composed of five regiments of Louisiana infantry, aggregating about 1,700 men, and popularly known as the "Louisiana Tigers", having formed in the streets of Gettysburg, suddenly and unexpectedly, with fiendish yells, charged upon Ricketts' Battery and its supports. The "Tigers" were daring and reckless men, who knew no fear.

"As soon as Captain Ricketts discovered that this compact and desperate Rebel column was moving upon his posi-

tion, he charged his pieces with grape and canister, and poured forth deadly volleys," states Bates, in his "History of the Pennsylvania Volunteers". "The infantry supports, lying behind the stone wall in front, fled in despair, and so the brunt of the attack fell upon Ricketts; but he well knew that the heart of the whole army was throbbing for him in that desperate hour, and how much the enemy coveted the prize for which he was making so desperate a throw. With an iron hand Ricketts kept every man to his post, and every gun in full play", and the terrible "Tigers", beaten back, retired discomfited and disrupted.

A Union soldier, who was present on Cemetery Hill at that time, afterwards wrote concerning the charge of the "Tigers" as follows:

"Many of them endured the deadly and destructive missiles, and, reaching the 11th Corps line, soon forced their way over the stone wall, actually leaping over our men. They yelled and charged up the hill, and in less time than I can tell the story they have reached the top and captured Wiedrick's battery. Then it is they yell and charge southward over the second stone wall, and capture the two left guns of Ricketts' Battery, and attempt to spike the same; but Ricketts' men will not yield to it. Then occurs the hand to hand struggle on Cemetery Hill, where they use ramrods, gun-swabs, handspikes, the butts of muskets, stones, and even their fists. It is then that Lieutenant Brockway brains a 'Tiger' with a stone; another is brained with a handspike, while still another is beaten to death with a guidon.

"It is then that [General] Hancock again comes to the rescue, by sending Carroll's brigade to re-enforce our men on Cemetery Hill. Then it is that we charge and drive down the hill what is left of the 'Tigers'. Out of the 1,700 that made the charge, less than 300 got back to the town. Over 1,400 were captured, killed and wounded, and their organization was not known thereafter."

"Tradition, story, history—all will not efface the true, grand epic of Gettysburg!"

Notwithstanding the severe and strenuous character of the work which fell to the lot of Ricketts' Battery at the battle of Gettysburg, its casualties were comparatively few in number—fourteen officers and men being wounded, three men being captured, and six being killed.

It would be interesting to follow Captain Ricketts and his battery into subsequent important and bloody battles and through other successful campaigns to the dawn of peace, but the limits of this sketch will not permit any further references to Captain Ricketts' military career other than the statement that December 1, 1864, he was promoted Major, and as such, in January, 1865, was in command of the artillery of the 9th Corps of the Army of the Potomac. He was promoted Colonel of the 1st Pennsylvania Light Artillery March 15, 1865. He was honorably discharged from the military service of the United States June 3, 1865, and shortly thereafter located in Wilkes-Barré, where he continued to reside until his death.

Shortly after his return to civil pursuits, being then in the twenty-seventh year of his life, Colonel Ricketts came into possession of vast tracts of primitive woodland on the North Mountain, in the Counties of Luzerne, Sullivan and Wyoming, Pennsylvania, where, for a number of years subsequently to 1892—alone, and in partnership with others—he carried on an extensive business in the manufacture and sale of lumber. Later he converted a portion of this ample North Mountain estate (including Lake Ganoga) into a handsome and attractive place of residence, where, for the last fifteen or twenty years of his life, he and his family spent the greater part of each year.

In 1886 Colonel Ricketts was nominated for the office of Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania by the Democratic party of the State (the Hon. Chauncey F. Black being the nominee for Governor); but at the election in November the Republican party was triumphant—Gen. James A. Beaver being elected Governor and the Hon. William T. Davies Lieutenant Governor. In Luzerne County Colonel Ricketts received 12,816 votes, which gave him a majority of 1,730 votes over the candidates of the Republican and Prohibition parties in his home county. Two years later the Democratic State Convention would have given Colonel Ricketts the gubernatorial nomination had he not refused to allow his name to be brought before the Convention.

In April, 1898, President Judge Woodward of the Courts of Luzerne County appointed Colonel Ricketts Receiver of Taxes in and for the city of Wilkes-Barré, and this office he held until April 1, 1902. He was a member of Conyngham

Post, No. 97, Grand Army of the Republic; a Companion of the First Class of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States; a member of the Pennsylvania Gettysburg Monument Commission; a member of the World's Columbian Fair Commission; a member of the Wyoming Commemorative Association; a member of the Westmoreland Club, Wilkes-Barré, and was Vice President (in 1889) of its original Board of Directors. He was a member of the Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons, and was a charter member and the first Eminent Commander of *Dieu Le Veut* Commandery, No. 45, Knights Templar, constituted at Wilkes-Barré in September, 1872. He was elected a member of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society May 8, 1885.

Colonel Ricketts possessed an abundance of cheerfulness and geniality, and was unquestionably a man who was truly fond of his friends, always loyal to them and delighting in their companionship. By them he was greatly beloved. He was ever a modest (almost a diffident) man—never a climber, a flatterer or a toady—and it was a matter of great difficulty to get him to talk about himself and his achievements either as a soldier or a civilian.

Robert Bruce Ricketts was married at Wilkes-Barré October 1, 1868, to Elizabeth Reynolds (born at Kingston, Pennsylvania, April 13, 1842), sixth child of the Hon. William Champion and Jane Holberton (Smith) Reynolds. William Champion Reynolds, who was born in what is now the borough of Plymouth, Wyoming Valley, December 9, 1801, was the son of Benjamin, grandson of David and great-grandson of William Reynolds. The last-named was one of the earliest New England settlers in Wyoming under the auspices of The Susquehanna Company, and was a participant in many of the stirring events of those early days.

William C. Reynolds was for many years a man of prominence and influence in Wyoming Valley, being actively and successfully engaged in the mining and shipping of coal and in general mercantile pursuits. He served two terms as a Representative from Luzerne County in the State Legislature of Pennsylvania; was for five years an Associate Judge of the Courts of Luzerne County; was for thirteen years a Trustee of Wyoming Seminary, Kingston; was one of the organizers, later a Director, and for a time President, of the

Lackawanna and Bloomsburg Railroad Company; was for several years, up to the time of his death, a Director of The Wyoming National Bank of Wilkes-Barré (of which, at a later period, one of his sons was President).

He was an original member of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, and retained his membership therein until his death, which occurred at his home on South River Street, Wilkes-Barré, January 25, 1869.

Mrs. Elizabeth (Reynolds) Ricketts became a member of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society in 1896, and, until ill-health affected her activities, she took an intelligent, earnest and helpful interest in the welfare and advancement of the Society. She was also a member of the Wyoming Commemorative Association; the Society of Mayflower Descendants; the Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America; Wyoming Valley Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Society of Colonial Governors. She was also, for many years, a member of the First Presbyterian Church of Wilkes-Barré.

She was a woman of the most lovable character, gentle and refined by nature, intelligent and cultured by education and training, dignified, yet always approachable, studiously regardful and considerate of the feelings and opinions of others, sympathetic and truly benevolent with respect to those who were in trouble and distress—in a word, she was just the sort of a woman whose friendship one would feel honored in having and be most desirous of holding. To her family and friends it was a matter of great sadness and regret that during the last two or three years of her life she was afflicted with bodily and organic maladies most aggravating and severe in their character.

Colonel Ricketts died at the family home at Lake Ganoga, North Mountain, November 13, 1918, and just six days later Mrs. Ricketts died at the family residence in Wilkes-Barré. It was the expressed wish of each of them that their remains should be interred side by side at a spot on North Mountain which they had selected some time previously. They were survived by two daughters and one son—William Reynolds, Jean Holberton and Frances Leigh Ricketts.

MRS. SARA (NESBITT) SMYTHE.

She was born at Kingston, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, September 12, 1872, the fifth child and only daughter of Abram and Sara M. (Goodwin) Nesbitt. Abram Nesbitt (one of the most prominent and widely-known citizens of Wyoming Valley) was born in Plymouth Township, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, December 29, 1831, the son of James, grandson of Abram and great-grandson of James Nesbitt.

The last-named (who was a native of Newark, New Jersey, of Scottish descent) was one of the earliest settlers in Wyoming Valley under the auspices of The Susquehanna Company. He was active and influential in the affairs of the Wyoming settlement from the beginning; was a survivor of the battle and massacre of Wyoming (July 3, 1778), and when, in 1787, Luzerne County was organized, he was appointed and commissioned by the Supreme Executive Council of the State one of the six Justices of the Court of Common Pleas of the new county. He died at Plymouth July 2, 1792.

His great-grandson, Abram Nesbitt, mentioned above, is closely identified with many of the leading financial, industrial, educational and other interests of Wyoming Valley. He was one of the organizers, in 1863, of The Second National Bank of Wilkes-Barré, and has been its President since January, 1877. He has been one of the Trustees of Wyoming Seminary, Kingston, since 1883, and has been a munificent benefactor of the institution. A few years ago he founded, by valuable gifts of real estate and money, the Nesbitt West Side Hospital, located in the borough of Dorranceton, Wyoming Valley. He became a Life Member of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society in 1908, and in 1910 his name was enrolled in the list of the Society's "Benefactors", in view of his generous donations to its funds. At the present time his name heads the list of "Benefactors"—his gifts to the invested funds of the Society exceeding those of any other person.

Sara Nesbitt was married at Kingston March 8, 1904, to Hugh Clayton Smythe of Pittston, Pennsylvania, a member of the Bar of Luzerne County, and they became the parents of two sons—Abram Nesbitt Smythe and Samuel Nesbitt

Smythe. In 1908 Mrs. Smythe became a Life Member, and in 1912 her two sons were made Life Members, of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society; and in 1915 the names of all three were enrolled in the list of "Benefactors".

Mrs. Smythe died at her home in Kingston January 4, 1919, after a very brief illness, of influenza (then widely prevalent in Wyoming Valley) followed by an attack of pneumonia. She was survived by her husband and two sons. At a meeting of the corporators and officers of the Nesbitt West Side Hospital held January 13, 1919, the following minute was directed to be incorporated in the records of the meeting:

"It is with heartfelt regret and with deep sympathy for the bereaved family that we record the death of Mrs. Sara (Nesbitt) Smythe, beloved daughter of the President of the Board of Directors of the Nesbitt West Side Hospital.

"Ever since the doors of this institution were opened the deceased was a prime mover in the various circles of the Ladies' Auxiliary of the hospital, and her unselfish ministrations, unfailing courtesy and amiability—which emanated most naturally from one who was kindness and good-cheer personified—will long be cherished by all who knew her.

"Sara (Nesbitt) Smythe possessed a genial and happy personality. She was a devoted daughter and sister and a kind and loving mother."

By due process of law in May, 1919, the young sons of Mrs. Smythe were formally and legally adopted as his sons by their maternal grandfather, Abram Nesbitt, and their names were respectively changed to "Abram Nesbitt, Jr.," and "Samuel Nesbitt".



EDWARD WELLES, A. M.

EDWARD WELLES, A. M.

He was born at Wyalusing, Bradford County, Pennsylvania, January 30, 1832, the seventh son and youngest child of the nine children of Charles Fisher and Eleanor Jones (Hollenback) Welles. Charles Fisher Welles (born at Glastonbury, Connecticut, November 5, 1789; died at Wyalusing, Pennsylvania, September 23, 1866) was a son of George, grandson of John and great-grandson of Thomas Welles of Glastonbury; the last-named being a great-grandson of the Hon. Thomas Welles (1598-1660) of Wethersfield, Connecticut, who served at one time and another as Treasurer, as Secretary, as Deputy Governor, and as Governor of the Colony of Connecticut.

Charles Fisher Welles was for many years a prominent and influential citizen of Bradford County, Pennsylvania. In 1812, upon the organization of Bradford County, his home was at Tioga Point (now Athens) within the bounds of the new county, and he was appointed and commissioned by the Governor of Pennsylvania Prothonotary, Clerk of the Courts, Register of Wills and Recorder of Deeds in and for Bradford County. He held these several offices for six years, and then took up his residence at Wyalusing, where he devoted himself to farming and to the care of his various property interests of consequence, and where he lived until his death at the age of seventy-six years and ten months.

Charles Fisher Welles was married August 15, 1816, to Eleanor Jones Hollenback (born January 21, 1788; died March 14, 1876), daughter of Matthias and Sarah (Burritt) Hollenback of Wilkes-Barré. The name of Matthias Hollenback (born 1752) is writ large upon almost every page of early Wyoming history. He came here from Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in February, 1770, as one of Capt. Lazarus Stewart's "Paxtang Boys", and assisted the Yankees in taking possession of Fort Durkee from the Pennamites on February 11.

In October, 1775, he was commissioned Ensign of the 6th Company in the 24th Regiment, Connecticut Militia, organized in Wyoming Valley about that time. Later he was commissioned an Ensign by the Continental Congress, and as such was in service "at the front". He took part in the battle of Wyoming, July 3, 1778, and later was in the mili-

tary service at the Continental post in Wilkes-Barré under the command of Col. Zebulon Butler. Upon the organization of Luzerne County in the Spring of 1787 he was appointed and commissioned by the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania one of the six Justices of the Court of Common Pleas of the new county. When a new constitution was adopted by Pennsylvania in 1790 Judge Hollenback was commissioned an Associate Judge of the Courts of Luzerne County, and this office he held until his death—a period of over thirty-eight years. He was the first Treasurer of Luzerne County.

In the Autumn of 1787 Judge Hollenback was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel of the "First Battalion of Luzerne County Militia". In 1792 he was re-elected to this office. In 1819-'20 he was Burgess of the borough of Wilkes-Barré.

At the time of his death—which occurred at Wilkes-Barré February 18, 1829—Judge Hollenback was undoubtedly the wealthiest man in Northeastern Pennsylvania. As early as 1802 he owned more than one-tenth of the land comprised within the bounds of the town-plot of Wilkes-Barré.

Edward Welles, the subject of this sketch, entered the Freshman Class at Lafayette College in the Autumn of 1848, he being then in the seventeenth year of his life. Shortly after entering college he became a member of the Franklin Literary Society.

Late in September, 1848, the Rev. George Junkin, D. D., LL. D., President of the college, tendered his resignation. He was very popular with the students, and when it became known that his resignation had been brought about by personal difficulties with certain members of the Board of Trustees of the college, a large number of the students, who were the Doctor's admirers and sympathizers, left Lafayette and matriculated at Union, Williams, Washington and other colleges.

A year later (in September, 1849) a number of other students left Lafayette (reducing the total number of students at the institution to 25!) and matriculated elsewhere. Among the latter was Edward Welles, who entered the Sophomore Class at Williams College, Massachusetts. He remained there until the end of his Junior year (in 1851), when he returned to his father's home at Wyalusing. There

he engaged in farming, lumber and real estate business, and other affairs connected with the estate of his father, until 1871, when he removed to Wilkes-Barré.

In June, 1871, Lafayette College conferred upon him the honorary degree of Master of Arts. In 1872 he was elected a Director of The Second National Bank of Wilkes-Barré, and in this office he served until the end of 1879. He was elected a Director of The People's Bank of Wilkes-Barré in January, 1884, at the same time that his brother, John Welles Hollenback, was elected President of the bank. Mr. Welles served as a Director of this bank continuously for twenty-five and one-half years—until July, 1909—when he resigned.

From April 1, 1888, till April 1, 1898, he was a member ("at large") of the Wilkes-Barré City Council. In 1888 he built, on the west side of Public Square, Wilkes-Barré, the large and imposing store and office building now known as the "Welles Building". The erection of this up-to-date structure soon led to other important improvements—notably the erection of the "Laning Building" and of The People's Bank Building—on that side of the "Square".


For a considerable number of years Mr. Welles was Secretary and Treasurer of the Hollenback Cemetery Association of Wilkes-Barré; from 1897 till 1903 he was a member of the Advisory Board of the Free Kindergarten Association of Wilkes-Barré, and in 1908 was one of the Trustees of this organization; from 1897 till 1899—and probably longer—he was one of the "Managing Trustees" of Memorial (G. A. R.) Hall, Wilkes-Barré. In 1894 or '95 the "Central Charity Organization" (later entitled the "United Charities") was founded at Wilkes-Barré, and Mr. Welles was elected one of its Directors. In this office he served continuously until 1901, at least. From 1899 till 1908 he was one of the Vice Presidents of the Luzerne County Humane Association.

He was a member, and a liberal contributor to the support and benevolences, of the First Presbyterian Church of Wilkes-Barré. For a number of years he was a member of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. He was elected a Resident Member of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society October 6, 1882, and on February 11, 1886, was elected a Trustee of the Society. In this office he served

continuously until his death. He became a Life Member of the Society in 1896, and in 1912 his name was enrolled in the list of "Benefactors".

Mr. Welles was a man of quiet demeanor and retiring disposition, who, next to his fondness for his home and his family, found his greatest pleasure in his books. His library was well selected, and, as he read carefully and reflectingly, he acquired a fund of information on a variety of important subjects. He was greatly interested in historical pursuits and investigations, and, while he had little time for such pursuits himself, he was always ready to aid, and did aid, with money and information, more than one of his friends engaged in work of that character. He was a loyal friend of Lafayette College, and in his later years contributed money to its endowment fund.

He was married August 26, 1891, to Stella Louise (born at Millbrook, Illinois, December 4, 1862), daughter of George M. and Julia (Woodworth) Hollenback. He died at Wilkes-Barré March 19, 1914, and was survived by his wife and one son—Edward Welles, Jr., who was graduated at Lafayette College in 1916, now resides in Wilkes-Barré, and is a Life Member and "Benefactor" of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.



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OSCAR JEWELL HARVEY.

TO ASSIST HISTORIAN.

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CORRESPONDING.

Felix Ansart.
 Edwin Swift Balch. 1901.
 Thomas Willing Balch. 1901.
 John Seymour Ball.
 Edmund Mills Barton.
 D. L. Belden.
 Alfred Franklin Berlin.
 Maynard Bixby.
 T. V. Braidwood.
 *Robert Alonzo Brock, F. R. H. S.
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 John Peters.
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 William Poillon.
 S. R. Reading.
 J. C. Rhodes.
 Lieut. Henry M. M. Richards.
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 *Hon. Charles Tubbs.
 Samuel French Wadhams.
 Abraham Waltham.
 Mrs. Margaret (Lacoe) White.
 William Alonzo Wilcox.

*Deceased.

† LIFE MEMBERS.

By payment of \$100.

FOUNDERS.

The figures at the end of the names indicate the year in which membership began.

- *James Plater Dennis, 1858.
- *Col. John Butler Conyngham, 1858.
- *Hon. Henry Martyn Hoyt, 1858.
- *Hon. Stanley Woodward, 1858.

‡ BENEFACTORS.

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| Edwin Swift Balch, 1918. | *Sidney Roby Miner, 1896. |
| *Joseph Swift Balch, 1918. | Abram Nesbitt, 1882. |
| *Col. Zebulon Butler. | Abram Goodwin Nesbitt, 1897. |
| *George Slocum Bennett, 1892. | *Isaac Smith Osterhout, 1858. |
| Eckley Brinton Coxé, Jr. 1907. | *Mrs. Elizabeth (Laning) Smith, 1911. |
| Mrs. Sophia E. (Norris) Coxé, 1903. | *James Nesbitt, 1917. |
| Mrs. Sophie G. (Fisher) Coxé, 1903. | *Sarah Goodwin Nesbitt, 1917. |
| *Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden, 1881. | *Sheldon Reynolds, 1874. |
| *Col. Matthias Hollenback. | Abram Nesbitt Smythe, 1911. |
| Miss Amelia Baird Hollenback, 1895. | Samuel Nesbitt Smythe, 1911. |
| John Welles Hollenback, 1868. | *Mrs. Sara (Nesbitt) Smythe, 1911. |
| Andrew Hunlock, 1870. | Irving Ariel Stearns, 1870. |
| Fred Morgan Kirby, 1895. | *Gen. William Sterling Ross, 1858. |
| *Rev. Jacob Johnson. | Mrs. Emily Hollenback Taylor, 1902. |
| *Frederick Charles Johnson, M. D. 1872. | Miss Anna Hollenback Taylor, 1916. |
| *Ralph D. Lacoe, 1882. | Lewis Harlow Taylor, M. D. 1897. |
| *Augustus C. Laning, 1858. | *Edward Welles, 1868. |
| *Hon. Charles Abbott Miner, 1864. | *Hon. Stanley Woodward, 1858. |
| *Hon. Charles Miner, 1858. | *Harrison Wright, Ph. D. 1872. |

LIFE MEMBERS.

- | | |
|--|---|
| *Miss Lucy W. Abbott, 1897. | Mrs. Emily (Ryman) Burlingham, 1902. |
| *Lucius Ashley, 1908. | Mrs. Anna Bennett (Phelps) Burrows, 1895. |
| *Mrs. Caroline (Beadle) Ashley, 1908. | *Phineas M. Carhart, 1895. |
| Henry Herbert Ashley, 1895. | George H. Catlin, 1907. |
| Thomas Henry Atherton, 1881. | *Hon. Sterling Ross Catlin, 1898. |
| *Miss Emily Isabella Alexander, 1895. | Mrs. Bertha R. Conyngham, 1897. |
| *Gustav Adolph Bauer, 1897. | John Nesbitt Conyngham, 1892. |
| Mrs. Emily Fuller Bedford, 1910. | William Hillard Conyngham, 1892. |
| George Reynolds Bedford, 1866. | *William Lord Conyngham, 1884. |
| *Mrs. Priscilla (Lee) Bennett, 1882. | *Mrs. Mae (Turner) Conyngham, 1895. |
| *Miss Martha Bennet, 1895. | *Alexander Brinton Coxé, 1896. |
| Charles Welles Bixby, 1895. | *Hon. Eckley Brinton Coxé, 1860. |
| *Joseph Habersham Bradley, Jr. 1908. | Mrs. Eckley B. Coxé, 1903. |
| *William Brisbane, M. D. 1858. | *Eckley B. Coxé, Jr. 1907. |
| Mrs. Fannie (Loveland) Brodhead, 1916. | *John M. Crane, 1911. |
| Robert Packer Brodhead, 1895. | *Nathan Beach Crary, 1911. |
| *Samuel LeRoi Brown, 1882. | *Hon. Edmund Lovell Dana, 1858. |

*Deceased.

- *Edward Payson Darling. 1870.
 Thomas Darling. 1895.
 *Mrs. Alice (McClintock) Darling. 1881.
 Mrs. Dorothy Ellen (Dickson) Darte. 1895.
 *Andrew Fine Derr. 1881.
 Andrew Fine Derr, Jr. 1908.
 Miss Elizabeth Lowrie Derr. 1908.
 Miss Katherine Dickson Derr. 1908.
 *Mrs. Mary D. (Fell) Derr. 1903.
 Mrs. Harriet (Lowrie) Derr. 1896.
 *Henry Haupt Derr. 1870.
 Thompson Derr, 2nd. 1908.
 *Allan Hamilton Dickson. 1895.
 Mrs. Kate (Pettebone) Dickson. 1895.
 *Rev. John Dorrance, D. D. 1858.
 *Hon. Charles Dorrance. 1858.
 Alexander Farnham. 1895.
 *Hon. Jesse Fell. 1908.
 *Liddon Flick. 1904.
 *Hon. Charles Dorrance Foster. 1895.
 Mrs. Mary Jane (Hoagland) Foster. 1896.
 *Lt. Joseph Wright Graeme, U. S. N. 1902.
 Mrs. Sarah H. (Wright) Guthrie. 1896.
 *Col. Elisha Atherton Hancock. 1902.
 *Hon. Garrick Mallory Harding. 1895.
 *Henry Harrison Harvey. 1872.
 *Jameson Harvey. 1908.
 Mrs. Jennie (DeWitt) Harvey. 1895.
 *James C. Haydon. 1901.
 *Frederick Hillman. 1902.
 George Baker Hillman. 1896.
 *Henry Baker Hillman. 1902.
 Miss Anna Welles Hollenback. 1905.
 Miss Julietta Genevieve Hollenback. 1906.
 *George Matson Hollenback. 1858.
 *Miss Elizabeth Walter Horton. 1897.
 *Miss Augusta Hoyt. 1900.
 *John Dorrance Hoyt. 1917.
 *Martha Goodwin Hoyt. 1917.
 *Abraham Goodwin Hoyt. 1917.
 *Edward Everett Hoyt. 1917.
 *Francis William Hunt. 1908.
 *Charles Farmer Ingham, M. D. 1858.
 Frederick Green Johnson. 1907.
 *Edwin Horn Jones. 1895.
 *Henry L. Jones, S. T. D. 1881.
 *Richard Jones. 1908.
 *George Brubaker Kulp.
 *Ralph Dupuy Lacoe. 1882.
 *William Arthur Lathrop. 1895.
 *Woodward Leavenworth, Jr. 1906.
 *Woodward Leavenworth. 1882.
 George Cahoon Lewis. 1893.
 *Edward Sterling Loop. 1869.
 Charles Noyes Loveland. 1898.
 Miss Elizabeth Shepard Loveland. 1900.
 *George Loveland. 1870.
 *William Loveland. 1896.
 *William Ross Maffet. 1900.
 *Col. John Miner Carey Marble. 1905.
 Alvin Markle. 1905.
 Andrew Hamilton McClintock. 1873.
 *Mrs. Augusta (Cist) McClintock. 1881.
 Col. Asher Miner. 1895.
 Mrs. Eliza Ross (Atherton) Miner. 1881.
 Charles Howard Miner, M. D. 1896.
 *Charles Morgan. 1858.
 *Lawrence Myers. 1895.
 *Frederick Nesbitt. 1901.
 *George Francis Nesbitt. 1900.
 Miss Fredericka Nesbitt. 1906.
 *Ralph Nesbitt. 1906.
 *Mrs. Sara Myers (Goodwin) Nesbitt. 1906.
 Daniel Edwards Newell. 1903.
 Mrs. Esther (Shoemaker) Norris. 1896.
 *Mrs. Anna Miner Oliver. 1916.
 *Lewis Compton Paine. 1881.
 *Hon. Henry W. Palmer. 1902.
 *Rev. Nathan Grier Parke, D. D. 1808.
 *Charles Parrish. 1858.
 *Mrs. Mary (Conyngham) Parrish. 1881.
 Mrs. Ella (Reets) Parrish. 1896.
 *Calvin Parsons. 1858.
 Maj. Oliver Alphonso Parsons. 1868.
 Joseph Emmet Patterson. 1896.
 William Grant Payne. 1908.
 William Theodore Payne. 1902.
 *Payne Pettebone. 1858.
 *Francis Alexander Phelps. 1895.
 *John Case Phelps. 1859.
 Mrs. Martha (Bennett) Phelps. 1895.
 Rollo Green Plumb. 1913.
 William John Raeder. 1902.
 *John Reichard, Jr. 1873.
 *Benjamin Reynolds. 1870.
 *Mrs. Annie B. (Dorrance) Reynolds. 1895.
 Col. Dorrance Reynolds, M.A., LL.B. 1896.
 Miss Edith Lindsley Reynolds. 1902.
 *Col. George Murray Reynolds. 1883.
 Schuyler Lee Reynolds. 1890.
 *William Champion Reynolds. 1858.
 Charles Francis Richardson, Litt. D. 1914.
 Elizabeth Miner Richardson. 1916.
 Robert Bruce Ricketts, 2nd. 1908.

- William Reynolds Ricketts. 1894.
 *Ferdinand Vandevere Rockafellow. 1884.
 Mrs. Charlotte M. (Rose) Ryman. 1900.
 *William Penn Ryman. 1881.
 Miss Rosalie Ryman. 1902.
 Theodore F. Ryman. 1882.
 *Joseph John Schooley. 1900.
 Miss Caroline Johnston Sharpe. 1908.
 Miss Elizabeth Montgomery Sharpe. 1896.
 Miss Mary A. Sharpe. 1897.
 *Richard Sharpe, Sr. 1883.
 Richard Sharpe. 1908.
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 Rosa Duncan Sharpe.
 *Mrs. Sally (Patterson) Sharpe. 1897.
 Miss Sallie Sharpe. 1896.
 *Arthur Yeager Shepherd. 1910.
 *Charles Jones Shoemaker. 1895.
 *George Shoemaker. 1900.
 Mrs. C. W. (Scranton) Shoemaker. 1900.
 Mrs. Esther (Stearns) Shoemaker. 1899.
 Irving Stearns Shoemaker. 1914.
 Miss Jane Augusta Shoemaker. 1896.
 *Hon. Lazarus Denison Shoemaker. 1858.
 *Levi Ives Shoemaker, M. D. 1892.
 Albert D. Shonk. 1916.
 J. Bennett Smith. 1918.
 Miss Katharine Conyngham Snyder. 1908.
 Miss Eleanor Parrish Snyder. 1908.
 *Mrs. Clorinda (Shoemaker) Stearns. 1895.
 *Capt. L. Dennison Stearns. 1897.
 *Addison Alexander Sterling. 1882.
 *Forrest Garrison Stevens. 1908.
 Mrs. Sarah Covell (Maffet) Stevens. 1906.
 Mrs. Rosa Sharpe Stevens. 1902.
 Walter S. Stewart, M. D. 1895.
 Thomas Kirbride Sturdevant. 1898.
 James Sutton. 1908.
 *John Henry Swoyer. 1884.
 Mrs. Emily (Hollenback) Taylor. 1902.
 *Mrs. Ellen E. (Miner) Thomas. 1895.
 *Percy Rutter Thomas. 1899.
 Miss Sallie Brinton Thomas. 1892.
 *Ephriam Troxell. 1907.
 Miss Rosa Troxell. 1897.
 Mrs. Martha (Sharpe) Tucker. 1900.
 John Augustus Turner. 1895.
 *Hon. Samuel Gonsalus Turner. 1868.
 Louis Hollenback Twyefforth. 1909.
 *William Tompkins.
 *Stephen Buckingham Vaughn. 1882.
 *Mrs. Esther T. (French) Wadhams. 1881.
 *Calvin Wadhams. 1858.
 *Mrs. Frances Lynde Wadhams. 1900.
 Raymond Lynde Wadhams, M. D. 1896.
 *Rev. David Jewett Waller. 1908.
 Edward Welles, Jr. 1899.
 *Rev. Henry Hunter Welles, D. D. 1895.
 Anthony Lawrence Williams. 1907.
 George Woodward, M. D. 1899.
 Christopher Wren. 1902.
 *Mrs. Emily L. (Cist) Wright. 1881.
 *Harrison Wright, M. A., Ph. D. 1872.
 Harrison Wright, 3d. 1897.
 George Riddle Wright. 1882.
 *Hon. Jacob Ridgway Wright. 1895.
 John B. Yeager. 1910.
 Mrs. Margaret M. (Myers) Yeager. 1897.
 *Elias Baylits Yordy. 1882.

*Deceased.

EXTRACT FROM BY-LAWS.

†The payment of one hundred dollars at one time by a member not in arrears, shall constitute him a life member, with an exemption from all future payments.

"All moneys received on account of life membership, shall be securely invested by the Trustees in the name of the Society, and shall form a fund to be called "The Life Membership Fund", the interest only of which shall be available for the uses of the Society.

‡"Any person contributing to the Society at one time a fund of one thousand dollars or more shall be placed on the list of Life Members with the title of 'Benefactor'. The Life Membership list shall be published annually."

The life member is entitled to all the publications and privileges of the Society, free, and by the payment of his fee establishes a permanent memorial to his name which never expires, but always bears interest for the benefit of the Society. His is therefore always a *living* membership.

ANNUAL MEMBERS.

Thomas Henry Atherton, Jr. 1917.
 Mrs. Mary S. (Butler) Ayres. 1899.
 Shepherd Ayres. 1914.
 Lottie J. Briggs. 1918.
 Eleanor M. Bamford. 1918.
 Theodore Strong Barber. 1912.
 Jesse Beadle. 1907.
 André Alden Beaumont. 1907.
 *Col. Eugene Beauharnais Beaumont, U.S.A.
 Paul Bedford. 1906. [1895].
 Reuben Nelson Bennett. 1906.
 Stephen Beers Bennett. 1899.
 Ziba Platt Bennett. 1906.
 Thomas W. Brown. 1910.
 Miss Mary Gillette Brundage. 1912.
 Elmer Ellsworth Buckman. 1896.
 Ernest Ustick Buckman, M. D. 1895.
 J. Arthur Bullard, M. D. 1892.
 Douglass Bunting. 1908.
 Edmund Nelson Carpenter. 1892.
 Walter Samuel Carpenter. 1886.
 Benjamin Harold Carpenter. 1900.
 Henry J. Carr. 1914.
 William Henry Castle. 1912.
 Frederick M. Chase. 1896.
 Samuel Cogswell Chase. 1914.
 Miss Martha L. Cray. 1907.
 Miss Sara Wood Cray. 1907.
 George Frederick Coddington. 1901.
 Herbert Conyngham. 1896.
 Mrs. Bertha R. Conyngham. 1897.
 James Cool. 1915.
 Franck George Darte. 1907.
 A. Livingston Davenport. 1905.
 Arthur D. Dean. 1897.
 William H. Dean. 1915.
 Harold Davenport Deemer. 1902.
 Oscar Herbert Dilley. 1912.
 J. Benjamin Dimmick. 1909.
 Gen. Charles Bowman Dougherty. 1895.
 Francis Douglas. 1901.
 Mrs. Ella (Bicking) Emory. 1895.
 Barnet Miller Espy. 1896.
 Rev. James McCulloch Farr, D. D. 1913.
 Daniel Ackley Fell, Jr. 1895.
 Miss Harriet Storer Fisk. 1918.
 Joseph E. Fleitz. 1913.
 Ferdinand S. Fowler. 1914.
 Harry Livingston French. 1907.
 Hon. Henry Amzi Fuller. 1895.

Edmund Jayne Gates. 1915.
 Charles H. Gillam. 1906.
 Charles K. Gloman. 1914.
 Edward Gunster. 1908.
 Mrs. Mary Richardson Hand. 1896.
 William G. Harding. 1912.
 Miss Caroline Ives Harrower. 1914.
 Charles D. S. Harrower. 1910.
 Miss Mary Harvey. 1896.
 Oscar Jewell Harvey. 1914.
 Robert R. Harvey. 1915.
 Horace Edwin Hayden, Jr. 1914.
 Samuel H. Hicks. 1918.
 Lord Butler Hillard. 1896.
 Oliver Charles Hillard. 1907.
 Tuthill Reynolds Hillard. 1914.
 *Arthur Hillman. 1910.
 *John Justin Hines. 1914.
 S. Alexander Hodge. 1897.
 Lyman H. Howe. 1914.
 John T. Howell, M. D. 1895.
 Charles Frederick Huber. 1908.
 W. Frank Hughes. 1915.
 John M. Humphreys. 1902.
 Miss Anna Mercer Hunt. 1896.
 Charles Parrish Hunt. 1892.
 Lea Hunt. 1902.
 *Edmund Hurlburt. 1904.
 Benjamin W. Jenkins. 1914.
 Miss Emma J. Jenkins. 1903.
 John E. Jenkins. 1914.
 Albert Beardsley Jessup. 1907.
 George D. Johnson. 1914.
 Mrs. Georgia P. Johnson. 1910.
 Mrs. Grace (Derr) Johnson. 1895.
 Harry E. Jordan. 1914.
 Miss Ernestine Martin Kaehlin. 1909.
 Mrs. Amelia Maria (Carter) Kennedy. 1907.
 Frederick Charles Kirkendall. 1901.
 Charles P. Knapp, M. D. 1900.
 James F. Labagh. 1904.
 *Oscar M. Lance. 1918.
 Elmer Henry Lawall. 1892.
 Charles Wilber Laycock. 1905.
 George Washington Leach, Jr. 1901.
 Edwin T. Long. 1900.
 Charles W. Lee. 1895.
 Henry Lees. 1914.
 Mrs. Dora (Rosenbaum) Long. 1899.
 Miss Martha Adelia Maffet. 1903.

*Deceased.

- Harry Clark Mason. 1912.
 Granville Thomas Matlack, M. D. 1900.
 Andrew Todd McClintock. 1911.
 Gilbert Stewart McClintock. 1911.
 George Roberts McLean. 1908.
 William Swan McLean, Sr. 1870.
 William Swan McLean, Jr. 1914.
 Mrs. Helen (Reynolds) Miller. 1896.
 Benjamin Franklin Morgan. 1897.
 Charles Evans Morgan. 1896.
 John M. Miner. 1916.
 Eugene Worth Mulligan. 1895.
 Charles Francis Murray. 1895.
 George Nicholson. 1912.
 Samuel T. Nicholson. 1914.
 Robert Van Alstine Norris. 1896.
 Robert VanAlstine Norris, Jr. 1914.
 *Mrs. Anna (Miner) Oliver. 1895.
 *Miss Frances J. Overton. 1898.
 Miss Priscilla Lee Paine. 1895.
 *Hon. Henry W. Palmer.
 Major Harry W. Pierce. 1910.
 Israel Platt Pardee. 1904.
 Frank Ellsworth Parkhurst. 1904.
 William Henry Peck. 1901.
 *Frank Pardee. 1904.
 Miss Myra Poland. 1904.
 Robert A. Quinn. 1908.
 John W. Raeder. 1897.
 John Butler Reynolds. 1895.
 Mrs. Mabel (Doudge) Reynolds. 1910.
 Hon. Charles Edmund Rice. 1895.
 Philip F. Rice. 1914.
 William Henry Richmond. 1910.
 *Mrs. Elizabeth (Reynolds) Ricketts. 1897.
 *Col. Robert Bruce Ricketts. 1897.
 Robert Patterson Robinson. 1896.
 J. Irving Roe, M. D. 1904.
 Arthello Ross Root. 1897.
 Leslie Sturdevant Ryman. 1894.
 John Edward Sayre. 1897.
 Rabbi Marcus Salzman. 1900.
 Christian H. Scharer. 1882.
 Harry B. Schooley. 1901.
 *Hon. William J. Scott. 1896.
 William Sharp. 1915.
 Harry Clayton Shepherd. 1897.
 William Carver Shepherd. 1895.
 Archie Carver Shoemaker, M. D. 1896.
 Harold Mercer Shoemaker. 1907.
 William H. Shonk. 1918.
 Edwin Shortz, Jr. 1914.
 Archie DeWitt Smith. 1896.
 Ernest Gray Smith. 1914.
 Mrs. Mary (Whittaker) Son. 1914.
 Miss Cornelia Wilcox Stark. 1910.
 Walter Carlton Sterling. 1912.
 Rev. Winfield Scott Stites. 1914.
 Dr. Louise M. Stoeckel. 1914.
 Frank Sturdevant Stone. 1914.
 *Capt. Cyrus Straw. 1875.
 Seligman J. Strauss. 1877.
 Mrs. Marian Rudrauff Strome. 1915.
 *William Romaine Stull. 1907.
 Dunning Sturdevant. 1912.
 Mrs. Mary Stark Sturdevant. 1912.
 Guy Sturdevant. 1912.
 William Henry Sturdevant. 1914.
 Walter Coray Sutherland. 1900.
 Miss Mary L. Trescott. 1913.
 Isaac Miner Thomas. 1915.
 Rev. Frederick von Krug, D. D. 1900.
 Theodore Constant VanStorch, Jr. 1912.
 *Mrs. Francis D. Lynde Wadhams. 1900.
 *Moses Waller Wadhams. 1896.
 Ralph Holberton Wadhams. 1897.
 Levi Ellmaker Waller. 1901.
 Samuel D. Warriner. 1901.
 William O. Washburn. 1907.
 Hon. Louis Arthur Watres. 1909.
 Hon. Frank W. Wheaton. 1895.
 Henry Hunter Welles, Jr. 1895.
 Mrs. Stella H. Welles. 1895.
 Theodore Ladd Welles. 1900.
 James Pryor Williamson. 1900.
 William Dwight White. 1896.
 Hon. John Butler Woodward. 1895.
 Frederick E. Zerbey. 1903.

*Deceased.

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